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France's Chirac, Albania's Arbnori Meet in Paris

AU1810113495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The [Albanian] People's Assembly Press and Information Office reports that, during the activities held in Paris, People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori met French President Jacques Chirac at the meeting of the chairmen of the parliaments, members of the International Association of Francophone Parliament Members.

French President Chirac assured Mr. Arbnori that France will continue to support Albania politically in its efforts to be integrated into the European Union institutions. France will also strengthen bilateral cooperation in all of the fields, Chirac said.

Responding to Arbnori's concern over the situation in Kosovo, President Chirac stated that this was an issue he himself followed with special attention and that France would do everything in its power so that the rights of Albanians there be respected.

Concluding, President Chirac reiterated a positive answer to the invitation to visit Albania. Besnik Mustafaj, Albanian ambassador in France, was also present at the meeting.

Yesterday, Mr. Arbnori took the floor at the afternoon session. In conformity with the topic of the meeting, Arbnori made a presentation on the role played by our parliament and the laws it has approved. Arbnori also briefed the assembly on the country's transition toward true democracy by creating a judicial basis for the economic and institutional reform.

Arbnori also held useful meetings with several of his colleagues, such as (Philip Sega), chairman of the French Assembly, and (Rene Morri), French Senate chairman. Arbnori handed a letter to Mr. Sega with concrete proposals for strengthening cooperation between the two parliaments, for which he found complete understanding. Mr. Morri accepted with pleasure the invitation to visit Albania in the near future.

Arbnori also held meetings with the chairmen of the parliaments of Switzerland, Luxembourg, Romania, Moldova, and many parliaments' chairmen of Francophone countries.

PSD Greets U.S. Promise To Monitor Elections

AU1810163895 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 17 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by E. Elini: "The USA Is Afraid of Manipulations in Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States is concerned about political developments in Albania. The present concern, after Brozi's dismissal, is focused on the antigenocide law, which Berisha decreed soon after his return from the United States.

The contact this time was with the Social-Democratic Party [PSD] leader Gjinushi, who met for about 70 minutes at midday yesterday [16 October] with the political secretary of the U.S. Embassy, Carl Siebentritt. "The antigenocide law is unsuitable and quite different from the Czech and Hungarian models, which are mainly about file screening," Gjinushi is reported to have said. In this way the U.S. Administration's representatives in Tirana appear to be saying "no" to the Albanian Government's claim that this law is less severe than the Czech or Hungarian laws.

Soon after his meeting with the political secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Tirana, the PSD leader told KOHA JONE: "The approval of the antigenocide law and the aggravation of the conflicts between various segments of the state and the opposition parties on the eve of the election campaign have given rise to serious concern in the U.S. Government." The U.S. reply appears to have satisfied Gjinushi because the political representative of the United States in Tirana promised "serious monitoring" of the coming parliamentary elections.

"Our government will make preparations so that, in the coming elections in Albania, the American presence will be felt more. We will take measures to prevent manipulations," Siebentritt told Gjinushi.

The U.S. diplomat's position appears "de jure" to be severe criticism of the Albanian state led by the PD and Berisha, regarding the recent incidents when the opposition parties had to face the SHIK [national intelligence service] and the police. Referring to these incidents, the American diplomat Siebentritt said that "we are very well informed."

For his part, Gjinushi accused the Democratic Party [PD] of disruptive political activity in Albania. "Resorting to various unlawful tactics and acts, the PD is aiming to polarize political life in the country between the PD and the Socialist Party [PS]. For this it is trying to manipulate the electoral law, reopen 50-year-old contradictions, and violate constitutional provisions to the detriment of smaller parties," Gjinushi told the U.S. diplomat, expressing to him the latest position of the PSD and the Democratic Alliance in a joint political context.

The "center between the poles" has categorically rejected a quick alliance with the PS. Gjinushi does not hesitate to reiterate this, with regard to the latest PS Presidency meeting, which considered a kind of alliance with the "center" as possible.

The "center between the poles" is for the natural development of pluralism and an equilibrium in Albanian political life that would guarantee that the socialists do not return to power and an end to Berisha's totalitarian policy.

Berisha Blames Translators for Irritating Americans

AU1910115695 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 18 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by K.J.: "The Translators Have Irritated the Americans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Berisha blamed a group of translators for the displeasure expressed by the U.S. State Department about Brozi's dismissal. "Our explanations have not satisfied the Americans because the decision of the Constitutional Court was sent very late," said the Albanian president in his news conference yesterday. Berisha seemed very annoyed when he was asked to comment on the U.S. Department's strong statement. Nevertheless, he said that irrespective of the high tone of the statement, nothing needs to be changed in the stand toward Zef Brozi. Brozi is irresponsible and has violated human rights, said the president, adding that his dismissal served the independence of the courts. The president answered the questions on genocide very willingly, bringing new and old arguments. "We are, of course, astonished to see this question assuming political colors. It is a national question," he said. Berisha showed himself an ardent partisan of the present time limit for the antigenocide law when he said that more crimes were perpetrated before 31 March than before the establishment of pluralism. Those people who governed Albania at that time should have resigned when crime emerged from the prison cells and came out onto the streets, said Berisha. The president did not spare the Socialist Party when he called it the offspring of the [Workers Party] political bureau. "I am saying this for their benefit. They must invalidate the decision of the bureau to change the name of the party and then win credibility," he said. On the other hand Berisha did not give the lie to the press according to which, in the last Democratic Party meeting, it was decided that elections should take place in May 1996. "Elections will take place in the best possible period defined by legislation," said the president, who perhaps forgets that legislation defines only the limits and not the moment of elections, which is defined by the politics of the day...

Serbian Police Seize Passport of Rugova Staffer

AU1810152095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kosova Information Center [KIC] reports that, at about 2000 last night, Serbian police inspectors seized the passport of Adnan Merovci, technical secretary in Dr. Ibrahim Rugova's office, president of the Republic of Kosova.

Mr. Merovci told KIC that over the past months, Serbian security inspectors have interrogated him several times and have asked for his passport. Last night, a Serbian inspector threatened Merovci, saying that he hand over his passport or the police would use other means against him.

It is reported that, despite his persistence, Mr. Merovci was given no receipt testifying the seizure of his passport.

As is known, Mr. Merovci was arrested on 7 September. He was held in custody till 22 September, under charges of illegal arms possession.

KIC reports that over the past months, the Serbian police have exerted pressure in various forms against President Rugova's staff and activists who have accompanied him in his trips to various European countries and the United States.

As reported, after raiding his home and interrogating him on 21 September, the Serbian police seized the passport of Qefser Baholli, Rugova's driver. On 8 May this year, the Serbian police seized the passports of Muharrem Rama and Mentor Zeqiri, drivers in the Presidency and the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK].

The Serbian security inspectors have not issued any receipts to the persons in question regarding the seizure of their passports. It is thought that the Serbian police's security policy is to use such acts to weaken the work of important services within the Kosova and LDK Presidencies, the KIC report concludes.

Greek Groups Criticized for Albanian 'Persecution'

AU1810174895 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by G. Toto: "Even Greek Gypsies Attack Albanian Immigrants"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The dark countenance of the two-sided coin of Greek policy against Albanian immigrants has reappeared. Again, the loud political proclamations are only for appearances and serve only to perfume the dark side of the coin of their traditional policy. "Merciless attacks and persecution against Albanians"—that is the motive upon which the attacks against Albanians are organized. From Greek media sources and statements by the many Albanian immigrants who are constantly returning from Greece, it is learned that violence in the form of killing and looting is being perpetrated against the Albanian immigrants. Only a few days ago, eight Albanians were barbarously killed in Athens. The Greek police have identified looting and killings all over Greece. The two-faced Greek policy tells the public that this "social epidemic," adapted according to the principle of "dog eat dog," has been arranged by the Albanians themselves and their nefarious groups. Whereas, in fact, the reality is otherwise. The attacks against Albanians have long since been organized by certain Hellenic groups that not only plunder but threaten to kill. The groups, imbued with Vorio-Epirus claims and incited by certain Greek circles interested in this issue, are precisely those that attack only Albanians so they will immediately leave Greece. Such organized attacks have started to appear in northern Greece by Greek gypsies, a contingent that organizes only killings and violent evictions against Albanians under the pretext of their taking job vacancies. Is the motive of persecuting Albanians so stupid, or is Greek policy so clever?

UN Embargo Ignored; Illegal Fuel Market Prospers

AU1910074995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by B. Gjergji: "Embargo—An Abortive Attempt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fuel imports from Italy, Greece, and other countries surpassed Albania's needs a hundredfold in 1994-95. There is a gas station every 10 to 15 kilometers. The convoys of oil tankers are not afraid of the financial police anymore. Their journey toward the north, to the Montenegran border, begins either from the southern borders or Durres port, etc. Thousands of metric tons of combustibles penetrate the smallest Balkan country. The oil industry town Ballsh produces and sells so much oil that it surpasses the needs of private cars in the country. The economy does not need any fuel because it is completely paralyzed and is awaiting privatization, a process that usually passes through endless bureaucratic procedures. Everything speaks of crazy haste toward the north. The roads, covered with spilled oil on only the right side, cross the country from the south to the north. The financial and traffic police simply watch the convoys of oil tankers pass by. All these vehicles have "regular" license plates of private firms. The most powerful is the one under the name of a bird, which is the symbol of the Albanian flag. The "rebel" inspectors who dared to make trouble for such firms were dismissed without any legal cause or placed under house arrest. One of these "rebels," officer S.M., says to KOHA JONE: "I stopped 20 oil tankers along the Milot-Shkoder road. I asked the appropriate offices to verify whether the licences and other documents were correct. I also expressed my doubts about the license plates. The result: I was suspended until a second order, which later came from above. What could I do? I had to comply with the situation... Now I motion the tankers by like the military... By evening, my right hand is too tired..."

The process of transporting fuel towards Montenegro and Serbia comprises a whole network of Balkan firms. The respective governments do not like to have control over them. Realistically, this is impossible. Not only because their associations are too intricate, but also because important government officials, even the secret services of the countries concerned, are involved. The important thing is that the fuel gets to the Serb military. This is where the work of the Serb secret service ends. It can be said that these services are carrying out their tasks perfectly well. Thus, the UN embargo becomes a scarecrow you can spit at in the face.

The Albanian arms trade left indelible marks on battlefields around the world. Official sources of dictatorial governments confirmed that "we bought arms from Albania because they were cheap." Local and foreign mass media released news and pictures of arms being loaded at Gjader airport. This is ample proof of state involvement. This was why the facts were totally denied. Attempts were made to hush the mass media. Meanwhile, the arms were being sold. Arms of various calibres from Polican [military plant] and other places are transported by dozens of trucks to the airport, then loaded onto big transport planes and sent to the hotbeds in the world. Rwanda and Afganistan are the biggest buyers. The fuel contraband is favored more. Scores of tanks cross the military post in Pulaj, Velipoje [Shkoder district]. After leaving the military site and the government villas, they pass through the hunting grounds in the direction of Buna estuary. Military patrols accompany them. On the Montenegran side, automated tankers approach. After coming 800 meters within Albanian territorial waters, violating the Albanian border, they hook up to some plastic pipes. Unloading is quicker now thanks to very powerful pumps. Every curious journalist is in danger during this process. The military zone and the secrecy of the operation, which is carried out mostly at night, makes one prey to volleys of automatic rifles. The dense forests protect the journalists from the organizers in uniform. For everyone in the civilized world, all this means state involvement in contraband. In Albania, such things are considered differently. The Albanian prime minister himself declared in the legislature an inevitable connection between the capitalist system and such phenomena. It is reality that compels the prime minister to try to justify this and demand others to shut their mouths. The limit between the state and contraband has undergone radical changes to the detriment of the first. In this duel, which has been willingly lost, it is only the president that can turn the tables.

Oil flows like a river toward the river banks. The organization of this flow is so flawless. Plastic pipes used by the "powerful" are quite visible near the two passageways. Within a range of two kilometers, the small contrabandists are nowhere to be seen. Their territory is farther away. One of the contrabandists says: "We do not dare trade oil over there... One of our friends who broke 'the rule' was sent to prison for four months after being savagely beaten by the emergency forces..." The villages of Rec, Dajc, Buna, Pentara, and others share "fraternally" the "selling points" with the contrabandists who have come from Shkoder, Lezhe, Fier, Mallakaster, etc. On the Montenegran side, one can see great numbers of tankers, floating tankers, boats with tankers, etc. Every three minutes, small boats transporting oil barrels pass by. The coast behind the border accepts everything. The price per liter ranges from 80 cents to $1. Each small vendor usually makes about $400-$500 per day. Near a more "organized" selling point, a small cafe has been erected. At one of the tables, one can see a soldier, a policeman, and the "boss" with his three "bodyguards." The law "cohabits" in harmony with the "antilaw." The "boss" complained that he had "lost $100,000." An infidel "Shkja" [Serb] had promised to pay him after he got the oil. In fact, he had fled to Denmark. Nevertheless, the "boss" did not feel bankrupt. I was astonished to hear him say that he would punish the culprit wherever he went. He must be very rich. In fact, this is something possible on the Buna River banks. Fuel prices create the premises for quick enrichment. This is seen also in the tendency to abandon the Velipoje productive fields. Many "peasants" have invested in Shkoder, Lezhe, and towards the center. Honest businessmen cannot compete with them. Auctions are always won by the "peasants."

The "top bourgeoisie" is in the making. Organized crime and every other evil of society is springing up this way. The state either participates or stays idle. Meanwhile, the people are becoming poorer and poorer and the media is under growing threats. The Mafia is trying to strangle any sign of democracy.

Italy's Agnelli, Berisha Sign Cooperation Accords

AU1510202295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 13 Oct 95

[Report by Vjollca Vokshi from Rome]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Albanian President Berisha held his first meeting with (Irene Pivetti), president of the Chamber of Deputies, in the yellow room at Montecitorio Palace. He briefed Mrs. Pivetti on Albania's reforms and achievements and also asked that the Italian Parliament support the Italian Government's cooperation initiatives.

Mrs. Pivetti expressed satisfaction with the cooperation between the two countries and parliaments. She appraised the reforms carried out so far in Albania and assured President Berisha of the Italian Parliament's continuous support to the Albanian Parliament. In this direction, an important role will be played by continuous contacts among deputies of our parliaments.

President Berisha at noon met with Italian Foreign Minister Susana Agnelli in Villa Madama. Apart from the Albanian Television and ATA journalists, many correspondents from the main Italian state television networks, those of FIN INVEST, and various private television networks were also present. The Italian media is very interested in Berisha's visit. The program also includes the signing of two important agreements between Italy and Albania.

President Berisha's spokesman stated that Berisha and Agnelli had discussed further cooperation between our two countries. [passage omitted]

For the numerous correspondents present, Berisha and Agnelli made statements to the press:

[Begin Berisha recording in Albanian with passage-by-passage translation into Italian; translated from the Albanian] I am very happy that I am here on a visit. I would like to warmly thank President Scalfaro and the Italian Government for inviting me and allowing me to make this visit. I would also like to thank the government, parliament, the president, and the Italian institutions and taxpayers for the extremely important aid that they rendered to Albania in one of the most difficult periods of its history, but also a period of great possibilities.

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which the two foreign ministers signed some minutes ago, the agreement on military cooperation, and the agreement on financial and economic cooperation mark the crowning of intensive cooperation over the past four to five years, as well as the friendship and ancient cooperation that unites our two peoples. I am convinced that these agreements will turn over a new page in our very good and friendly relations and determine new important prospects in the development of these relations. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Changes Presidium Membership

AU1810211395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian on 18 October carries an 800-word report by "A.C." on a meeting of the Socialist Party General Management Committee in Tirana on 17 October under the title "Fatos Nano Changes the Socialist Party Leadership From Prison."

The report states, "A vote of confidence in the party presidium suggested by the imprisoned Socialist leader himself resulted in five members of the Socialist Party leadership being dropped following a secret ballot among 90 Socialists. Bashkim Zeneli, Fatmir Kumbaro, Xhevat Lloshi, Luan Shahollari, and Maqo Lakrori will no longer be at the top of the Socialist pyramid. They came at the bottom of the list in the Socialist Party General Management Committee's secret ballot. The leaders released from their posts will remain members of the committee.

"About 90 representatives of headquarters and local branches yesterday voted for the party's 18 most senior officers. The surprise changes do not stop here: Other Socialists were elected Presidium members: These are Kadri Rrapi from Peshkopi, Eduart Alushi from Vlore, and Bardhyl Agasi from Durres. However, the Management Committee has also recruited some new members into its ranks. These are Sherif Bundo, Erion Brace, and Gjergj Koja."

The report continues: "Immediately after the Presidium suggested the vote of confidence to the committee, many of the local members protested, saying, 'There is no need because the Presidium has worked well.' However, bearing in mind who had originally suggested the vote of confidence, it seems that the Presidium insisted. Servet Pellumbi, Gramoz Ruci, Namik Dokle, Luan Hajdaraga, and Ethem Ruka received more than 75 votes and headed the list of votes. None of the five dropped presidium members opposed the will of the committee."

The report concludes: "The meeting elected Fatos Nano chairman of the Electoral Committee for the forthcoming elections."

Members Comment on Dismissal

AU1910114895 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 18 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

[E. Barci and E. Elini Report: "Thorns From the Rose"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "No problem will emerge in the general work of the Party," said Fatmir Kumbaro after his dismissal. From a vote of confidence proposed by Nano and carried out BLITZ, three deputies Bashkim Zeneli, Maqo Lakrori, Xhevat Lloshi, as well as Luan Shahollari and Fatmir Kumbaro were dismissed yesterday from the Socialist Party [PS] Presidium. "Five people who knew 16 foreign languages altogether were dismissed, and the 19 others who remained do not know five languages between them," said one of the PS leaders who did not want to identify himself. It is perhaps the first public proposal to come from Nano's cell and its result is somewhat bitter for five of his collaborators. "No comment" was the reply from Xhevat Lloshi. While Fatmir Kumbaro looks serene. "Something quite normal," he said about his and four other dismissals. Most astonishing was Bashkim Zeneli's dismissal. "It was a normal process. But the measure of my confidence lies in the ideals I believe in and the Party ruling I apply," he says.

Zeneli is one of the PS founders and in close circles he has been considered as Nano's friend. After Nano's imprisonment, Zeneli's affairs within the party did not go very well. Initially Zeneli was the head of the PS Foreign Commission, and he was recognized by political and diplomatic circles abroad. A few months ago this post was occupied by the Party deputy leader Ilir Meta. It is commonly known that Zeneli was one of the few people within the PS Presidium who several times asked for Marx's removal from the PS program. Yesterday he was also removed from the Presidium. No proposal with concrete names was made at the meeting, but all the presidium members had to undergo the vote of confidence. We asked those who were dismissed about the cause of their dismissal. "I don't think it was a problem of job evaluation, but the fact that the presidium had to be refreshed [with members] from the grass roots," says Fatmir Kumbaro. Kumbaro was imprisoned July-September 1992 as the organizer of the demonstration in Nano's support in Tirana. For Maqo Lakrori yesterday's removal had a double taste. Lakrori is one of the very rare socialists who is attacked by the antigenocide law and has no right to run for the next elections. Last night Lakrori preferred not to comment on the decision of his party, calling it a normal process, whom all have to undergo. No answer is given by the deputy Lloshi, professor of linguistics, as to the cause of his removal. The future of the five is of interest in the PS politics. "I am still a member of the Steering Committee," says Lloshi of his future in the PS. According to him his name has no importance in politics. Asked about the danger of not being chosen to run for the next elections, Zeneli said, "I do not even consider such a danger." Kumbaro seems to share the same opinion. "I will be as I was before, and I will do whatever I can." In connection with the names of the dismissed, one of the highest PS leaders said, "Sometimes the innocent suffers together with the culprit," but he did not say who the innocent was.

Slovenia's Zoran Talks With Pirinski, Videnov

AU1910094695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenian Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler has started his official visit to Bulgaria. Today the Slovenian visitor held talks with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov. In a statement to journalists, Zoran Thaler repeatedly pointed out that relations are good between Bulgaria and Slovenia and that there are great possibilities for their future development, especially in the economic field. He also expressed the wish to promote negotiations on establishing a free trade zone between the two countries. The two sides also discussed the preparation of a legal basis for economic relations between Bulgaria and Slovenia. Other topics discussed during the talks included Central European cooperation, bilateral cooperation in combating crime, the development of communications, the situation in the region, and the reconstruction of the former Yugoslavia.

Meets Foreign Policy Officials

AU1910101895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Taler met with the members of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Commission in the National Assembly on 19 October.

Issues related to transportation projects of mutual interest were discussed.

The Bulgarian deputies pointed out our country's interest in the Central European Initiative Organization, of which Slovenia is a full member. Our experience in the process of integration with the EU, of which Slovenia will soon become an associate member, was shared with the Slovene foreign minister.

Kozloduy Reactor Seen as National Interest Issue

AU1810132795 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 16 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Yanaki Ganchev: "Macroeconomic and Geopolitical Framework of Bulgarian Power Supply"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The concern of one month ago that domestic and foreign interests will produce a demand to close the four WWER-440 reactors of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant was confirmed two weeks ago by the G-7 political memorandum that demanded the cessation of the first reactor.

Most mass media treated this act of foreign interference with the character of an ultimatum in a uniform manner. It is high time to clearly say that foreign interests have a stake in:

—increasing the regional price of electric power in the Balkan peninsula;

—developing a situation in which Bulgaria will not only cause a dumping of the international price of power export in the Balkans and Central Europe, but will turn itself into an importer;

—satisfying the increasing and inevitable need of Western credits and guaranteed supplies for the traditional producers of equipment for the conventional and nuclear power supply.

This is the place to ask on the basis of what calculations (against the background of the fact that we still have not adopted a national concept on power supply) and in the defense of whose interests did we assent in 1993 to sign an agreement on closing the four WWER-440 reactors, which produce a total of 1,760 megawatts, for ECU25 million when it was known that Bulgaria would need $2-3.5 million to stop the reactors. The signing of the agreement was an act of national nihilism that we inherited from the previous government as well as a mechanism with a delayed action, whose first effect was manifested in the G-7 memorandum.

The unity in the reaction of the Bulgarian authorities, which for the first time gave priority to the national interests and served it by restarting the first reactor, is indicative. This is only one aspect of clashing interests. There are additional interests related to the construction of new nuclear reactors. There are many unknown factors in this realm that also affect our national interests. The economic aspect of the issue is related to the lack of any possibility and prospect of activating new reactors before the year 2004 or even 2008. The type of the future reactors is a related technological issue.

The assessment should not be made on the basis of the project prepared for the Belene nuclear power plant more than 15 years. That project is based on the technological level of the 1960's and includes 1,000 megawatt reactors. Those reactors are not sufficiently flexible in the production of electric power and have lower security parameters.

Reactor Can 'Operate Safely'

AU1810134295 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 95 p 13

[Article by Irina Kuneva: "National Electricity Company Cuts Power for Thermoelectric Power Plants"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the winter season enterprises that have their own electric power plants will receive a limited quantity of electric power from the National Electricity Company, the Committee on Power Supply has decided.

The enterprises will have to meet their power needs themselves, in order to save the power needed by the population.

The electric power plants of the industrial enterprises will produce an additional quantity of 200 milliwatt electric power, experts from the Committee on Power Supply calculated.

The National Electricity Company will allocate the industrial giants only limited quantities of electric power, in accordance with the needs of those enterprises and the capacity of their electric power plants.

The major enterprises affected by the decision are Neftokhim, Plama, Kremikovtsi, Khimko, Sviloza, and Devnya. So far those enterprises used to receive power from the National Electricity Company, because it was cheaper than the electricity they produce by using expensive imported fuel.

The lack of imported coal for the Varna Thermoelectric Power Plant leaves us without reserves for the winter, and the company expects a monthly deficit of 350 million kilowatt/hour.

The shortfall will be covered by imports. Russia and Ukraine have agreed to supply us with electric power. However, during the winter those countries also suffer shortages, and this could affect the import.

For the time being at least it is impossible to import electric power from the West European countries, Rumen Ovcharov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, said on 15 October. Our country is not connected to the western power grid.

Last week France and Germany offered us electric power and coal if we stop the first reactor of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant.

The tests that have been conducted guarantee that the reactor can operate safely, Mr. Ovcharov said. If we meet France's demands and pierce the reactor shell for additional tests, we would shorten its life by three years, he pointed out. According to him, Bulgaria is not that rich and it cannot afford to stop the operations of its reactors before the maximum time for exploiting them is up.

Teraton Chief on Loss of Arms Trading License

AU1810151495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by Ventsislav Petrov: "Teraton To Lose $10 Million Before Year's End"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Teraton will lose signed contracts worth $10 million before the end of the year, the company's chief Mladen Mutafchiyski announced yesterday. Recently the cabinet revoked the arms trading licenses of Teraton and Armimex. Teraton obtained its license at the end of 1992, when Georgi Bozduganov was the chairman of the Interdepartmental Council for the Defense Industry. Now Kintex is the only remaining effective organization that is able to trade in military and special products. Those familiar with the arms business say that Elmeta Engineering has no well-developed structure for large-scale trading and has not realized any big profits.

According to Mutafchiyski, the motives for the government's decision are vague and unclear. He said that officially the license was revoked under Article 22 of the Order on control of the conditions for foreign trade activities in military and special products. Mutafchiyski pointed out that Teraton's business and financial position is stable. Compared with 1994, this year the company increased its exports almost fivefold. The Teraton chief said that the company had submitted a detailed marketing plan to the commission of experts that had to prepare a report on the results of the activities of the licensed arms trading companies. According to him, the cancellation of the license may lead to a collapse of Bulgaria's positions in the world arms markets.

Some days ago Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Council for the Defense Industry, said that Teraton and Armimex had acted against the interests of the military-industrial complex and the country as a whole. Experts in the arms business comment that Teraton sold at prices much lower than the established international levels. The products were sold practically for a song. According to the experts, Teraton and Armimex, under their respective chiefs Mladen Mutafchiyski and Simeon Simeonov, sought quick and easy profits, neglected their duties toward the producers, and that it is hard to say where the money from the deals went. They say that the Teraton chief wrongfully justified himself by saying that the products of our military plants cannot command high prices. Directly after obtaining its license, Teraton exported several million 23mm shells to the Middle East at $1.70 apiece, at a time when the accepted price was $6.50-$7.00. Teraton also improperly lobbied for the U.S. arms company of Matrix, the experts claim. Yesterday Mutafchiyski denied that Teraton had any commercial deals with Matrix, explaining that it merely acted as the agent of Matrix in Bulgaria. He expressed misgivings that the purpose of canceling the license was not to destroy Teraton but to win control of the company, along with its business contacts in the international market.

Criticizes License Cancellation

AU1810175295 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 15 Oct 95 p 16

[Interview with Teraton President Mladen Mutafchiyski by Ognyan Stefanov; place and date not given: "Canceling Teraton's License Brings Back Era of Monopoly Over Arms Trade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Stefanov] Do you accept the manner in which Teraton was deprived of its license to trade in arms?

[Mutafchiyski] It implies that after a while we might have only one radio station and read only one newspaper.

[Stefanov] Some people said that you are serving U.S. interests....

[Mutafchiyski] This was one of the milder accusations. I have also been accused of serving the CIA, the KGB, and the Mossad. On the other hand, in 1991 Edvin Sugarev [deputy of the Union of Democratic Forces] called me an agent of State Security. The only positive aspect of those accusations is that they at least link my name to such authoritative organizations.

[Stefanov] Nevertheless, why did the government make this decision?

[Mutafchiyski] The decision was aimed at returning the old and tested monopolism. I regret the fact that no one had the guts to call us and directly tell us: This is what we have decided and that is it. I am a state employee and will implement the order even if I am not sure that it is correct.

[Stefanov] Actually, what was the procedure?

[Mutafchiyski] A commission was created, which actually duplicated the work of the members of the Interdepartmental Council on Issues of Military Industry. Ivan Kolev, head of that commission and deputy chief of the Interdepartmental Council, requested a report on our activity and our market strategy. We were asked to provide the names of the companies with which we deal, as well as the middlemen, which contradicts the Trade Law. Nevertheless, we did what we were asked. Then we suddenly saw that the commission was issuing a decision, formulated in a substantial document, and all this on the day after Ivan Kolev returned from India.

[Stefanov] Did they invite you to explain the violations attributed to Teraton?

[Mutafchiyski] No. We informed the commission members that we were available at any time and were ready to present documents and facts related to all the accusations that had been voiced against us, if necessary.

[Stefanov] Were you not disturbed that the decision had been made unanimously by the commission?

[Mutafchiyski] No one told us anything. According to rumors that I have heard, there has been some disagreement. It was precisely this that prompted them to pass the buck to the Council of Ministers and ask it to make the final decision. However, I do not believe that most of the gentleman ministers are familiar with our business and yet they decided to cancel our license and put a lid on the whole thing.

[Stefanov] Have you been officially informed about the decision?

[Mutafchiyski] We received a letter that pointed out that the decision had been made on 10 October. But the truth is that the government had discussed the meeting almost a week earlier. Is this an oversight on the part of a clerk? At that stage, the mass media had already reported the decision, citing official government sources. Why should we have to learn from the press how our destiny has been decided? It is insulting.

[Stefanov] Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev explained the matter thoroughly on one of Sofia's private radio stations....

[Mutafchiyski] He is the deputy prime minister in charge of my sector and yet he did not invite me to talks. I am a state employee! Why do I have to listen to the radio to know what his position is on such important matters? Let him tell me where we have blundered and what violations we have committed. There have been no indications about any blunders, no documents, and no conversations.

[Stefanov] People are saying that you have violated certain clauses of the neo-COCOM and that you have been involved in unfair competition.

[Mutafchiyski] If this is so, why has the body in charge of fair competition not summoned us? Such accusations can be leveled only if they have been established according to the Law on the Protection of Competition.

There has been nothing like this. There has been no complaint on the part of any company affected by unfair competition on our part. All this bothers me very much, because it stinks of a staged affair. It is an absolute paradox. And on top of everything, I now hear new accusations that we have organized and paid for the entire mass media campaign. Have I paid you for this interview?

[Stefanov] No.

[Mutafchiyski] I could not, even if I wanted to, because I represent a state enterprise and every expense must be reported with an appropriate document. Anyone interested can come and check all our documents.

[Stefanov] How have your partners reacted to the new situation?

[Mutafchiyski] We represent three major companies from Russia, the United States, and Ukraine. They will learn from all the noise that has been created that our license has been canceled because of certain accusations, some even implying that we are threatening national security, and they will put their hands to their heads and ask: Are those the people with whom we have been dealing? It turns out that we are swindlers who have violated international agreements. Do you imagine that those companies did not put us under a microscope prior to beginning business with us?

[Stefanov] Is it true that you have held "informal" meetings with former U.S. President George Bush?

[Mutafchiyski] I have had meetings with him and all our state institutions have been informed about the meetings. "Informal" meetings with a U.S. President could happen to anyone who decides to have his picture taken next to a cardboard figure of the President on the streets of Washington.

[Stefanov] Do you deal only with the superpowers?

[Mutafchiyski] We have wonderful contacts with colleagues in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Germany, and Austria. We have penetrated new markets. We are already successfully cooperating with companies in Turkey and Greece. Now they will suddenly "discover" that all the time they have had a serpent in their bosom.

[Stefanov] Nevertheless, you are saying nothing about the Syrian deal, which has been described as a great blunder.

[Mutafchiyski] This is a case that they are taking out of mothballs. From time to time they pull up this case, wave it in front of us, and tell us what a mistake we have made. All the parliamentary commissions that checked the deal in 1992 established that Teraton had acted in a professional manner.

[Stefanov] You have been accused of selling products at lower than cost price.

[Mutafchiyski] We found a customer willing to buy 23-mm shells. Arsenal's warehouses were bursting with such products. They had been stored under inappropriate conditions for six or seven years. They had only two to three years of "shelf life" left and then they would have to be destroyed or buried. On top of everything, the shells had been purchased from Russia. All the Arsenal leadership gladly signed all the documents and were happy to get rid of an obsolete product. The merchandise belongs to them and it is they who decide whether or not to sell it. Then some people started making a noise and claiming that we had sold the shells cheaply and that Russia had made a better offer. So far no one has seen this higher offer. In addition, those shells used to be expensive during the Iran-Iraq war. Afterward, their market price sharply dropped. Still, Arsenal's workers received wages for several months from the amount we got for the shells. This was going on at the time I was being considered a KGB agent.

[Stefanov] You have been accused of selling MiG-29 aircraft to South Korea. Is this true?

[Mutafchiyski] Yes, but I must specify that they were TU-154 passenger aircraft and that we sold them to North Korea and not to South Korea. It was a perfect deal. All the documents are available.

[Stefanov] Perhaps Teraton only is a burden on the state?

[Mutafchiyski] Since the beginning of the year we have sold five times more than during the same period in 1994, which also was not a bad year. Every one of our employees, including the cleaning lady, has earned the state $1 million. In addition, we are paying higher taxes than many famous economic groups and banks.

[Stefanov] Do you sense political motives behind the decision to cancel your license?

[Mutafchiyski] I do not want to believe this. A political motive would be a sad remnant of the past.

[Stefanov] Nevertheless, you have been described as President Zhelev's man....

[Mutafchiyski] I have never met him. I have only seen him on television.

[Stefanov] Perhaps they are utilizing foreign experience in the field of concentrating trade in specialized production?

[Mutafchiyski] I wish it were so. Until recently Russia has had one giant company—Rozvooruzheniye. Now seven new companies have been granted licenses. The same applies to Hungary and the Czech Republic. Even private companies are receiving arms export licenses. The producers can choose the company that will sell their products. Now our enterprises have been deprived of the possibility to select the best offer. Let competition exist as long as the rules are observed. Let the market decide who is worth what. Everything else reminds us of Vishinskiy [USSR chief prosecutor during the 1937-38 political show trials]. In addition, the production of our enterprises is not in a great demand and it badly needs somebody to market it. This is the truth. Now the monopolist will determine the price and the producer will have to agree without saying a single word.

[Stefanov] Do you have a lobby to help you in this situation?

[Mutafchiyski] Had we had a lobby, we would still have a license.

Large Quantity of Semtex Stolen on 10 Oct

LD1810122995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0700 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Twenty-four kilograms of red Semtex vanished on 10 October from the Brno premises of the joint-stock company Synthesia Pardubice.

A police spokesman said yesterday that information could not be released earlier because of the course of the investigation. He said the Semtex was likely to have been stolen by two men, although other possibilities are also being investigated. The Czech Military Police are also involved in the investigation.

Police Give Details of Letter Bomb Sent to Klaus

AU1810174195 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Sabina Slonkova and Katerina Kratochvilova: "Prime Minister Klaus Received a Letter in Which There was a Fuse and Gunpowder"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—An anonymous letter writer has attempted to blackmail Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. His threatening letter was delivered in the mail to the Office of the Government on 11 October. The anonymous sender attached to the letter a sapper's fuse that contained gunpowder and served to detonate a charge. However, it could not explode on its own. "The package could not have harmed anyone," said Deputy Police President Jan Zatorsky.

The police said that the anonymous writer had demanded money from the prime minister and had threatened terrorist attacks if his demands were not met. Zatorsky refused to say how much the letter writer wanted or what buildings were to be the targets of possible attacks.

Klaus, who returned from abroad yesterday, refused to comment on the matter because the head of the Government Office, Igor Nemec, had already explained everything.

The five-centimeter fuse was discovered during an X-ray examination. However, even if it had escaped detection in all of the checks, the prime minister would not have received the letter. "The prime minister does not open anything himself; obviously, it would have been opened by someone in his secretariat," said a member of his bodyguard, who did not want to be named, because he is bound by an oath of silence.

The fuse is manufactured by the Vlasim company Sellier & Bellot. It cannot be purchased in stores, but it is commonly used in quarries and demolition work. Apart from the police, civilian counterintelligence is also searching for the writer of the letter mailed in Prague 1 on 9 October. Zatorsky thinks this is the work of an amateur. "Everything indicates that this is a mentally rather unbalanced person," he said.

Therefore, the police think it is unlikely that this could be part of a campaign similar to the one in Austria two years ago, when politicians were the recipients of letter bombs. At that time, for example, Vienna Mayor Helmut Zilk was injured.

According to police findings, a number of politicians, including the prime minister and the president, have been receiving threatening letters for several years. The letter sent to Klaus, however, is the first in which the sender has enclosed a fuse. "This is proof that things can also happen here that are normal in other countries," said Nemec.

Interior Minister Jan Ruml said yesterday that no special measures have been taken. "The system in the Government Office building and in the protection of constitutional officials has merely been tightened somewhat," he said. He also intends to talk to the ministers about installing X-ray machines in their offices to check the mail. Only the Government Office has this equipment at the moment. It will not tighten its checks on letters. "I think we are doing this well, as has been demonstrated by this find. Nothing more can be done," said a member of the bodyguard.

New Transportation Minister Budinsky Profiled

AU1810152695 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 10 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "(drb)": "The Chairman of the Parliamentary Economy Committee Has Been Appointed Transportation Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Vladimir Budinsky, chairman of the parliamentary Economy Committee, is to replace Jan Strasky as transportation minister. The Civic Democratic Party's head office has, in this connection, provided DENNI TELEGRAF with a biography of the new minister.

Vladimir Budinsky was born on 25 November 1959 in Kralovice in the Plzen-North District. He attended high school in Louny. He studied civil engineering at the Czech Technological University-Faculty of Engineering in Prague. He graduated with the academic title of engineer. After his studies, he worked as a designer in the Agrostav Zatec enterprise and from 1987-90 was the head of enterprise maintenance at the Pocerady and Ledvice power stations. At the same time, he was a designer for the SURPMO and Drupos studios.

He entered politics in November 1989. He soon became the Civic Forum's spokesman in Louny. He was elected to the Czech National Council [CNR] in June 1990 and worked on the CNR's National Economy Committee, which had transportation in the Czech Republic under its jurisdiction. He has been a member of the Civic Democratic Party since it was founded in spring 1991. He was elected to the Czech National Council in the 1992 elections and became chairman of the Economy Committee. He is chairman of the Transportation Commission in the Czech parliament's Economy Committee. He is also a member of the Aviation Commission, the State Environment Fund Council, and the Banking Commission. He was elected a member of the Louny local authority in the 1994 local elections.

He is married. His wife, Hana Budinska, is a doctor in the Louny hospital and polyclinic. He has two daughters, age 11 and nine.

Government Approves Law Against Money Laundering

AU1910075095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "(nak, ina)": "The Government Has Approved a Law Against Laundering Money Originating From Crime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Klaus's Cabinet, without the slightest reservation, approved a draft law yesterday that should restrict the legalization of money originating from crime. Justice Minister Jiri Novak, whose office prepared the draft law against money laundering, said that the financial institutions will have to keep records on clients who conduct financial operations involving more than 500,000 korunas [Kc] and also on all unusual transactions.

"This obligation will also relate to betting offices or casinos that pay out more than Kc500,000," said Novak. This information will then be processed by the Finance Ministry.

The rewards the new legal norm will reap for the Treasury cannot, however, be estimated by its authors or the police. That is, the experts claim that it is impossible to calculate how much money obtained from crime is legalized in the country per annum. At the same time, the government and the police agree that not even the draft law will prevent money laundering completely. "The function of no law can be to utterly suppress this phenomenon. This involves creating a mechanism that would make money laundering considerably harder and that would have a preventive character. I think that the law the government has adopted will fulfill this function," declared Novak.

The draft norm envisages that the financial institutions will face a fine of up to Kc2.0 million for violating it. If the law is violated repeatedly, it will be possible to punish the culprits with sanctions of up to Kc10 million. Moreover, it follows from the most recent amendments to the penal code and penal law that people convicted of money laundering may have the property they acquired illegally confiscated.

The police and banks have welcomed the government's latest measure, although the representatives of the financial institutions admitted that the new law will mean more work for them. "But this is a law we will respect," said Jan Rezek, the spokesman for the Investicni a postovni banka [Investment and Postal Bank]. The law should come into force next April, after it is approved by parliament, of course.

Belehradek Writes Holan About Tender Mistakes

AU1810134495 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by "(km)": "Belehradek Has Written to Holan About the Mistakes Made by the Army in the Tender"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Economic Competition Minister Stanislav Belehradek has sent a personal letter to his party colleague in the government Vilem Holan in which he wrote that, although the Army did not essentially violate the law on assigning public tenders in the competition to modernize the outmoded Soviet T-72 tanks, it did infringe its own regulations.

He considers the lack of clarity in the tender's appraisal to be the most serious doubt cast on the Army. "In the protocol on the consideration and evaluation of the offers, how the commission made its assessment is not clear and conclusive," said Minister Belehradek, when he informed the head of the Army in writing of the outcome of his office's investigation. Belehradek's office was thus unable to judge whether the victorious companies met all of the conditions of the tender.

The Ministry for Economic Competition completed its investigation into the most controversial Army tender to date on 10 October. Belehradek's office did not cancel the tender, because, according to it, the law was not essentially infringed by the mistakes uncovered. So, Defense Minister Vilem Holan must decide on the fate of the whole tender.

It says in Belehradek's confidential letter that the tender documents do not give the reasons that some companies were excluded from it. The engineering giant Skoda Plzen was also eliminated from the later rounds of selection.

Belehradek wrote that the whole selection procedure was concluded 20 hours late. The minister also pointed out to Holan that the companies were notified of the selection of the most suitable offer incorrectly because the Army only did so by fax.

The defense minister's secretary, Ales Dolezal, said yesterday that the minister will decide on the fate of the tender in a few days, when he also has at his disposal the conclusion reached by his own inspection team.

Holan Not To Cancel Tender

AU1810151795 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by "(km)": "Despite the Doubts, the Lucrative Tank Tender Is Valid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Defense Minister Vilem Holan decided yesterday not to cancel the suspect Army tender to modernize the outmoded T-72 tanks, even though the regulations were infringed in its assignment.

In this context, however, Holan's inspection team has proposed that the minister's deputy, Miroslav Kalousek, be disciplined. The inspection team claims that he made no specific mistakes himself but was responsible for the mistakes made by his subordinates.

The inspection team, whose findings Holan was waiting for until yesterday, ascertained that, although the Army made mistakes in its regulations, it did not infringe the law on assigning public tenders to the extent that the tender would have to be canceled.

The Ministry for Economic Competition has also been investigating for more than a month the regularity of this the most controversial tender so far. "The two institutions found only formal shortcomings that did not influence the propriety of the outcome of the tender," commented Holan's office on the two investigations.

So, the results originally announced are definitely valid. The Italian company Officine Galileo and the Israeli company Nimda are still the winners in the most questionable and, at the same time, most lucrative part tenders of this selection procedure—to supply the tank's fire-control system and gearbox.

According to the inspection team's report, the defense minister should now draw the consequences not only with regard to his deputy, Kalousek, but also with regard to Oskar Sima, the director of the Military Repair Enterprise Novy Jicin, Frantisek Veprek, the former head of the Main Office for Material-Technical Procurement, and other senior departmental functionaries—Jan Mrazek, Ivan Truhlar, and Jaroslav Travnicek.

The inspection team did not confirm the most serious doubts cast on the tender, according to which it was supposed to have been manipulated by multiple voting and the compulsory replacement of commission members.

Holan's office also did not reach the conclusion that the tender had been influenced by bribes. "There is nothing to suggest that the selection of the most suitable offer was influenced by personal gain," states the inspection team's report. It also contains no reference to the case of Frantisek Veprek, who had the whole issue of tenders under his jurisdiction. This summer, just before the result of the tank tender was announced, Veprek went to work for the private foreign company GEC Marconi, which is now cooperating with one of the victorious companies, Officine Galileo. "We know about this but have ascertained nothing specific," said the inspection team.

[Prague PRAVO in Czech on 14 October on page 2, under the headline "Holan Will Not Discipline Deputy Minister Kalousek," carries a 300-word report by Vitezslav Kulich that contains the following passage: "Defense Minister Vilem Holan is not planning to discipline his economic deputy, Miroslav Kalousek, in connection with some of the mistakes made in the Army tender to modernize the T-72 tanks. This statement was made to PRAVO by the minister's press secretary, Ales Dolezal. He has thus refuted the report carried in the 13 October press that Holan's inspection team, which was looking into the T-72 tender independently of the Ministry for Economic Competition, is asking that Kalousek be disciplined. However, the minister may still consider the responsibility borne by some lower-ranking officials in charge of executing the tender, conceded Dolezal. This mostly concerns lawyers, he announced."]

Schenk on NATO Application, Slovak Neutrality

LD1910100195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk yesterday returned from a three-day official visit to Great Britain. A news conference was held in Bratislava's Hotel Borik after his arrival late last night. My colleague Jozef Rebo was one of the journalists who attended the conference:

[Rebo] After returning from London, Juraj Schenk once again denied the REUTER agency's report that the British side told him about its concerns regarding the political development in Slovakia, which could prevent Slovakia's joining the European Union. Responding to Slovak Radio's question as to whether he had to iron out, as it were, some statements made by Jan Slota, the Slovak National Party chairman, Minister Schenk said:

[Begin Schenk recording] I would not say that I had to iron out anything, although it is natural that this question was asked precisely in connection with the release of a NATO study and in connection with other matters about which our public was very well informed.

The only thing I am able to do is to state once again our position or, rather, the government's position, in the sense that we have absolutely no reason to change our attitude on the priorities defined when the Slovak Republic was founded and reaffirmed by the government program. It does not at all worry me to repeat that my comment on statements about considerations or, rather, statements related to considerations as to whether Slovakia should or should not be incorporated into these structures or whether we should go for an option of neutrality or some similar options is that I considered these statements, above all, premature. I feel they are premature because they are being made before the NATO study is released, and this meant that all of the linkages and problems contained in the study are not known.

In my view, the main point that generated this kind of response was the issue of nuclear weapons deployment on the territory of new member states. All of you are already aware that this is not a pressing problem because it is not actually included in the first stage. [end recording]

[Rebo] Answering a Slovak Radio question as to his view on our country's neutrality, Juraj Schenk said:

[Begin Schenk recording] I personally think that neutrality is not a realistic and tenable path. Why? It is not enough to just proclaim neutrality. Neutrality must be guaranteed. You yourselves know how difficult it is to get under way the process of talks or the effort to reach some kind of agreement between NATO as an organization, on the one hand, and the Russian Federation on the other. I cannot imagine neutrality being an effective model without at least these two big groups agreeing on these guarantees. This is not a realistic path, I think. [end recording]

On British Concerns

LD1810094195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk will end his three-day official visit to Great Britain today.

His agenda yesterday included a meeting with his counterpart, Malcolm Rifkind, and Michael Portillo, secretary of state for defense. In the Royal Institute of International Affairs, he spoke about our efforts aimed at integration into the EU and NATO and about Slovakia's relations with its neighbors.

In connection with the minister's agenda yesterday, we telephoned Juraj Schenk during the night and asked him the following questions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Minister, yesterday REUTERS quoted your British counterpart, Malcolm Rifkind, who, according to this agency, conveyed to you the British concerns about the trend of political development in Slovakia and who also warned that we can join the EU only when we have met the basic standards of democracy.

What was Mr. Rifkind worried about in particular, and how did you respond to the British concerns?

[Schenk] On the whole, I would tend to disagree with REUTERS' interpretation. I would not call it concern. There were no words of this kind. I can say, of course, that, during our talks yesterday, the British side stressed, as it had done on other occasions, that the criteria set for our joining the EU or NATO have not changed. The British side also said it was interested in the completion of the process of democratization in Slovakia. But what it said was straightforward in the sense that there was support for our integrational efforts.

On other occasions it was even clearly said that Slovakia was in the group of the first four countries due to be integrated in this way.

Of course, the developments on our domestic political scene are the subject of interest of not only the mass media, but also of politicians. I was very pleased that, in this respect, I was able to present our position and the facts related to this development.

At this moment, I would not like to say to what extent they accepted our position, or whether they even accepted it without reservations. But I definitely believe that what we have presented here has provided at least additional information and a very strong impetus for thinking on a little different lines about what is going on in our country.

[Correspondent] During your meeting with Portillo, you reaffirmed Slovakia's interest in joining NATO as soon as possible. Did the British side outline a more specific date or a likely sequence in which the states undergoing reforms will be accepted into the alliance?

[Schenk] No, they did not. Our discussion proceeded more or less in the context created by the submitted study on NATO enlargement. This concerns the two basic issues of how and why NATO should be enlarged.

In this respect, we summed up our cooperation within the Partnership for Peace program and our position on some principles that are being discussed in the context of this study. [end recording]

The Slovak foreign minister will visit Cambridge today. He will leave London this afternoon.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets NATO's Balanzino

LD1910100695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jozef Sestak, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, told NATO Deputy Secretary-General Sergio Balanzino in Brussels that the Slovak Republic was working toward full-fledged membership in the North Atlantic Alliance and that it claimed allegiance to NATO's strategic concept, including the nuclear one.

According to Sestak, there was no reason for deploying nuclear weapons on the territories of the future new members, though.

During the discussion, the NATO deputy secretary-general did not voice any concerns about political developments in Slovakia. He was more interested in Slovakia's relations with its neighbors, in particular Hungary.

Daily Queries Purpose of Kovac's FRG Visit

AU1810142195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 pp 1, 7

[Article by "lh, mis": "Did the President Defend the Interests of the Republic, or Was He Involved in Personal Matters?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava, Bonn—We have learned from well-informed sources that the (supposedly informative) talk between the Slovak and German presidents was not attended by our ambassador to the FRG. The Bundestag representative of the Christian Democratic Union, Seiters, a close collaborator of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and Schoser, general manager of the German Industrial and Trade Association, both of whom originally were to be present at the meeting, were also absent. This is interesting, in particular, because, according to our information, a person from circles close to President Michal Kovac claimed that, as regards the Slovak ambassador, the German side called his participation in the meeting of the two presidents unnecessary and even undesirable.

Surely it would be interesting to know why the presence of the Slovak ambassador was undesirable, especially if the talks between the two heads of state were to concern only German-Slovak relations and problems of European security and integration.

Better Informed Czechs

Remarkable, at the very least, is also the fact that the stage management of Michal Kovac's stay in Germany was fully in the hands of K. Stuth, head of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's Prague and Bratislava branch. Interpreting was provided by Czechs permanently resident in the FRG. It is to be expected that, as usual, Prague will be informed [about Kovac's talks] exhaustively and in time, unlike Bratislava, where the authorities will apparently learn only what the "president's men" will deem appropriate.

What Do German Doubts Concern?

While Michal Kovac denied that the case of Michal K. Jr. was even mentioned during his talks in Germany, the circumstances and the evolution of this case in Austria make many observers doubt this assertion. The course of events will ultimately confirm whether the head of state really used the visit only to defend the interests of the Slovak Republic and "dispel certain doubts existing on the German side." The very fact that the presence of the Slovak ambassador was "undesirable" suggests something. In the afternoon, Michal Kovac returned to Bratislava.

Former SIS Agent Reveals Details of Abduction

AU1810190695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 17 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with an unidentified "former SIS employee" by Peter Toth; place and date not given: "Former SIS Employee Claims That the Michal Kovac Jr. Operation Was 'Directed by Ivan Lexa Personally'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A former employee of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] who was involved in the assault on the president's son and his kidnapping has granted an interview to the daily SME. For security reasons, we will not mention either his name or his initials. On page 3, we are reproducing a facsimile of his SIS identity card. (The facsimile of the identity card includes, in addition to the SIS logo and stamp, a photograph of the holder, with the upper portion of the face, including the eyes, blacked out; the card number (101467); and the date of issue (16 July 1995)—editor's note) The names and code names of his superiors are given only in the form of initials. The name of the SIS director is generally known, which is why we have kept it in full in the interview.

[Toth] You claim to be a former SIS member. Can you prove this?

[Former SIS agent] Yes. I worked for a few months in the SIS surveillance section, and, as proof, I am making available to you my official identity card. I would like to say, furthermore, that I am identical to that SIS member who admitted to Major Vacok [investigator of the case] his part in the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. No one has forced me to testify before the investigator, and no one has ever offered me anything for testifying. I hope that what I had explained to Major Vacok will help him to investigate the whole case.

[Toth] Who assigned to you the task of shadowing Michal Kovac Jr. from the white Mercedes 208 D van, which you parked opposite his house? Who was your direct superior?

[Former SIS agent] I was assigned this task by my direct superior, W., (but this could be his code name because I, too, often worked under a code name, under which I was known to some of my colleagues). According to information I have received, W. has been dismissed from SIS. The chief of the entire surveillance section was V., and the intermediary link between W. and V. was Robert B. (code name L.). The whole operation was directed through radio communication by Ivan Lexa personally. I have heard him on the radio receiver and recognized his voice.

[Toth] What does (did) the interior of the surveillance car look like? How many similar vehicles does SIS own?

[Former SIS agent] The surveillance car had a toilet, a bed, air-conditioning, a small kitchen, tinted windows, and listening facilities—directional microphones. I do not know how many such vehicles SIS owns. I spent two or three nights in that car. During the day, we were shadowing Michal Kovac Jr., as well as his wife, with passenger cars all over Bratislava. Michal Kovac Jr. will surely remember how, two days before the kidnapping, he and his wife went to their daughter's school to check in which class she was enrolled and how they subsequently went to Mrs. Kovacova's school to check her schedule. In both cases, I was standing just two meters away.

[Toth] Do you have information that Michal Kovac Jr. had been bugged? And, if so, who issued the order?

[Former SIS agent] As far as I know, his telephone at home was tapped. But I cannot say anything about this because that was the job of another group.

[Toth] Approximately how many people participated in the "Kovac Jr." operation?

[Former SIS agent] Eight people from the surveillance section took part, always a driver and one partner. I do not know exactly how many people participated in the abduction itself because our group was at the back creating a smokescreen.

[Toth] Do you have information about who issued the order to assault and abduct Michal Kovac Jr.?

[Former SIS agent] I received the order for my specific activity in the course of this operation from my direct superior. He, in turn, got his orders from his superior, but, because Ivan Lexa personally supervised the whole operation, I assume that he is the one who issued the order.

[Toth] Do you know who planned this operation and thought through the whole course of action?

[Former SIS agent] The highest SIS officials, I suppose.

[Toth] How many people from the highest circles were informed about, or even involved in, the abduction of the young Kovac, in your opinion?

[Former SIS agent] I do not know, but I am convinced that the prime minister knew about it. My conviction also results from the information that I have that, about two days after the operation, between 0100 and 0300, the prime minister met at Zeleznicka Studnicka in Bratislava with Jaroslav S. Jaroslav S. felt quite miserable after that meeting, as if he had been given a good dressing down.

[Toth] Was this the only case of your being assigned to shadow family members of constitutional officials, or politicians and constitutional officials themselves?

[Former SIS agent] I worked in SIS only briefly and was never assigned to shadow constitutional officials. I know, however, that some of my colleagues were. Personally, I was involved in shadowing Bishop Balaz [of Banska Bystrica, president of the Slovak Bishops' Conference].

[Toth] How has SIS's activity changed since Ivan Lexa became its director, and how does it differ from the period when SIS was headed by Vladimir Mitro?

[Former SIS agent] Because I did not work in SIS under Vladimir Mitro, I am unable to assess this. However, many colleagues who worked in SIS under Mitro are greatly alarmed by the present orientation and functioning of SIS.

[Toth] Why did you decide to speak out?

[Former SIS agent] I left the Slovak Republic Police Corps to join SIS at the recommendation of a close acquaintance on the understanding that I would be working for the benefit of the state, not for the benefit of individuals and their political parties. When I found out what I had unwittingly become involved in and what I would have to be involved in in the future, I decided to tell the Slovak nation and the whole world the truth and to leave SIS.

[Toth] Are you in touch with any SIS employees?

[Former SIS agent] I am not because I am hiding and fear for my life.

[Toth] Is the SIS under Ivan Lexa's management united?

[Former SIS agent] I do not think so. Several of my colleagues have seen through the dirty SIS practices and disagree with them internally. It is possible that, when the political situation changes, many of them will speak out and testify.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 16 October on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "pt" entitled "Former SIS Employee Who Shadowed Michal Kovac Jr. Gave Interview to SME." The report, which announces the publication of the interview in the newspaper's 17 October issue, claims that the person interviewed is the author of the two anonymous letters recently published in the Slovak press.]

Deputies Interpellate Minister

AU1810151995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "PA": "What Will the Interior Minister Reply?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—We have learned from well-informed sources that a group of National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputies from the Common Choice has addressed an interpellation to Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek in connection with the suspected conflict between the Slovak Information Service [SIS] and the Slovak Republic Police Corps.

According to our information, seven Common Choice deputies, acting in conformity with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and the NRSR Rules of Procedure, have addressed the following two questions to the minister of interior:

"1. What is your standpoint on the attacks on members of the Police Corps, particularly now that, according to information from so-called open sources (press, radio, television), the SIS director has initiated criminal proceedings against some members of the Police Corps? Can your silence in the public be understood as your agreement with the criminal charges? Does it mean that the deeds that have been designated as unlawful really took place?

"2. Why and for what reasons have cadre changes been carried out in the [Police Corps] Section of Investigation? In particular, why was Colonel Lamacka dismissed? According to Lamacka's statements, he is not aware of any facts indicating that the investigators or he himself violated the law.

"Is his dismissal connected with the emergence of the so-called conflict between SIS and the Slovak Republic Police Corps?"

The Common Choice deputies voice the concern that "tension in society is mounting, conflicts in political life are growing in number, and some artificially provoked affairs arouse fears that state power is being executed incompetently or even that state bodies are being misused."

They reject the practice of conflicts between stage agencies, "about which we learn only from information from open sources," being dealt with through courts.

They describe as abnormal the practice of changing during the course of investigation people charged with the investigation as well as the fact that, without proper explanation, parts of the file on the investigation end up in the hands of unqualified people or the hands of the public.

They stress that state administration does not function normally if "constitutional officials do not inform even parliamentary deputies and representatives of political parties."

The Common Choice deputies are of the opinion that, at the extraordinary NRSR meeting [on 10 October], Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek should have provided information on all suspicions that arose with regard to the conflict between SIS and the Slovak Republic Police Corps and should have refuted suspicions of the abuse of state bodies and of the powers of public officials that have surfaced in connection with the investigation of several criminal facts, particularly in connection with the investigation of the suspected criminal act of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad.

The Common Choice deputies voice the opinion that their demand does not constitute interference in the investigation. They are not interested in any information to which only persons specified in the appropriate criminal code regulations have the right of access. Their aim is to support struggle against organized crime and confidence in those who are supposed to protect us.

Results of Police Inquiry Into DU Sheets

AU1810185395 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "suj": "Roman Kovac: DU Petition Sheets Contained 11,313 Valid Signatures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to Roman Kovac, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU], the nationwide police verification of signatures on DU petition sheets confirmed that, out of the total of 14,804 signatures verified, 11,313 were valid. This means that the condition of 10,000 signatures that a party needs to participate in the elections were fulfilled.

Of the above number, 1,279 signatures were from Bratislava, 2,041 from West Slovakia, 2,718 from Central Slovakia, and 5,275 from East Slovakia. Roman Kovac did not want to reveal the source from which DU obtained this information, but, according to Roman Kovac, the same information is also contained in the official report of the Slovak Republic Police Corps that was to be delivered to Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek yesterday.

As for the signatures that have been designated as false, this concerns cases when citizens did not own up to their signatures, Roman Kovac said. They probably did not realize or were not instructed that a signature on a petition sheet cannot be withdrawn, which means that if they signed the sheet and subsequently did not own up to it, they actually violated the law, he explained. Roman Kovac revealed, furthermore, that three more supposedly forged sheets appeared in Dunajska Streda some two weeks ago, with the intention to complicate the verification once again. It has been ascertained, however, that these were sheets that DU itself had eliminated beforehand because of evident discrepancies, so these sheets did not feature in the elections. Roman Kovac supposes that this is part of a whole series of actions prepared in advance to discredit DU, "actions about which the chairman of the ruling movement will probably know more." Asked whether the police report that allegedly contains the aforementioned, for DU favorable, results of the verification cannot be forged, Roman Kovac replied that the relevant person would make himself guilty of the forgery of an official document. Roman Kovac fears more that, in its official report, the police will circumvent these figures because, as the police already indicated, the verification did not concern the number of signatures but cases of forgery. Roman Kovac expects the interior minister's reply within one or two weeks, also in view of the approaching date by which the minister must reply to DU deputies' interpellations.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 October on page 2 carries the following report by "sm": "The investigation of the authenticity of signatures on DU petition sheets by members of the Police Corps has not yet ended. According to Interior Ministry spokesman Peter Ondera, the police definitely did not take any interest in the total number of signatures. 'We are interested in how many signatures were forged,' Peter Ondera told us. According to the spokesman, figures that have been published in the press do not come from official sources. The Ministry of Interior is preparing a reply to Ludovit Cernak's interpellation from the ninth meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic concerning the circumstances and results of the verification of the authenticity of signatures on DU petition sheets. The reply will probably be published in the coming days."]

Meciar Rejects Trade Union Demands in Interview

AU1810150595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by TASR: "Vladimir Meciar Does Not Recognize Meeting Democracy (of Trade Unionists)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The government proceeds from the principle of tripartite negotiations and respects agreements of the three partners but bears responsibility before parliament and citizens, not before the trade union confederation, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said in an interview for Slovak Radio yesterday. He was reacting to the call of the Confederation of the Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic on the government to assume a stand on its demands by Tuesday, 17 October. As Vladimir Meciar went on to say, the adjustments in [railway and bus] fares have brought about savings of roughly 1.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk], but the trade unionists are demanding compensatory measures that would cost close to Sk5 billion. The government is not going to accept them. According to the prime ministers, partners should sit down together at the negotiating table. He noted that he does not recognize the principles of meeting democracy, according to which "he who manages to gather more people at a rally will determine the development of the state."

Vladimir Meciar stressed that the basic democratic principles stem from elections and not from participation in rallies. He added that the government was primarily a state body and not an intermediary between trade unions and employers. The Government of the Slovak Republic will discuss its program of economic policy with the trade unionists and employers on 23 October, Vladimir Meciar added.

KOZ Head Criticizes Meciar

AU1810150695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Alojz Englis: Trade Unionists Are Not Going To Serve as Decorative Extras"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In yesterday's evening issue of Radiozurnal [Radio Journal; Slovak Radio news program], Alojz Englis, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic, reacted to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's comments made in the lunchtime Radiozurnal. He said that he definitely could not agree with Meciar's claim that the government always respected agreements reached within the tripartite. "This statement is not true." An example thereof is the amended law on the Employment Fund, as a result of which the fund, an institution under public law, came under the control of the government and the Slovak Ministry of Finance, with which KOZ of the Slovak Republic disagrees as a matter of principle. There has been no agreement on this among the partners in the tripartite. The government submitted the draft to parliament without prior consultation with the social partners. Alojz Englis considers untrue Mr. Meciar's claim that the trade unionists' demands for compensation for increases in fares would cost close to 5 billion Slovak korunas. "This shows that either the ministerial officials are incapable of calculating the increased costs or the prime minister gets imprecise information from poor advisers," Alojz Englis continued. If the prime minister says that he does not recognize the principles of meeting democracy, I say that, if the government addressed the problem of compensatory measures in due course, trade unionists would not have considered it necessary to publicly present their disagreement. In another part, Alojz Englis called in question the date proposed by the prime minister for a meeting between the government, trade unions, and employers (23 October). He himself has repeatedly asked the prime minister for a meeting. As regards the talks to be held on 23 October, all he knows is the date, not the contents of these talks. "I cannot accept an agenda that will be dictated to us, an agenda that will be presented to us after we sit down at the negotiating table. We are not willing to serve as mere decorative extras for talks that will not bring the trade unionists or the public anything," Alojz Englis said in conclusion.

Ducky Interested in Free Trade Zone With CIS

AU1810150295 Bratislava PRAVDA (EKONOMIKA PLUS supplement) in Slovak 4 Oct 95 p 1

[Interview with Economy Minister Jan Ducky by Martin Benko; place and date not given: "We Will Seek Membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Benko] Efforts to renew and intensify Slovakia's economic and trade relations with Russia are often being questioned politically. Slovakia has a long-term, massive deficit in its trade balance with Russia, which has already exceeded the $1.2 billion mark this year. We depend on Russia for supplies of raw materials with strategic importance for the functioning of our economy, and there exist great problems caused by the inability of Russian firms to pay their bills, which renders serious cooperation virtually impossible. Are these facts not at the root of the political questioning of economic relations between the two countries?

[Ducky] I would not want anyone to link my opinions to Slovakia's political orientation. That period is behind us once and for all, and I am glad it is over. I would understand it if the critics spoke about excessive dependence on imports from Russia, for which we pay in dollars. This is real dependence. Moreover, we must pay these hard-won dollars in cash. We are trying, but the mere effort is not enough, to get to the Russian market and pay for only a part of those strategic commodity imports in cash. If we had this possibility, I would be much happier and would not be in the least afraid of this dependence. We want to return to the Russian market with large amounts of consumer goods and engineering production, which did not have the character of strategic dependence [sentence as published]. If we do not supply footwear and textiles to these markets, others will. I do not suppose that any enthusiasts would be going to Russia these days who do not expect the Russian side to pay them. If the Russians do not pay, they will not get any goods. I rule out such a relationship—delivering goods and not getting paid. This could happen in days when trade used to be organized by the state. I do not see any risks from this viewpoint. The bigger problem is getting to the Russian market because others are there already and are pushing us out of that market. When I speak about the endeavor to get to the Russian market or to the markets of the other former CEMA states, I am not linking this trade in any way to political considerations. I reject the prejudice that I or the government would want to return to Russia in order to be dependent. The whole world is in Russia—the French, the Japanese, the Americans, the Germans.

[Benko] We want to return to the Russian market and assert ourselves against strong foreign competitors. What problems are connected with those efforts?

[Ducky] Russia has infinite problems. One of the biggest problems in trade is that Russia protects its market by enormous prohibitive customs tariffs. For some categories of goods, the customs duties reach 200-250 percent, which makes it virtually impossible to export there. If Russia were willing to conclude with us a bilaterally advantageous agreement on a free trade zone, we would be able to substantially reduce unemployment and make greater use of our capacities. We would thereby also become less dependent on the Russians because we would be paying for goods and would be more equal partners. It would not be like now, when we import raw materials from there. While there exist transport arteries between the two countries, everything must be seen in context. I would not be afraid [of dependence], but I fear that getting there will be a big problem.

[Benko] Russia recently addressed several Central European states and proposed to them to institutionalize mutual economic relations. Because the countries in question were former CEMA member states or their successor states, this initiative came to be seen as an endeavor to revive an economic organization similar to CEMA and to recreate the Eastern bloc. What do you think about this proposal?

[Ducky] CEMA is dead and I think it will never return in its original form. No one is interested in its resurgence. I do not want to speak on behalf of the Russians, whether they have such an ambition, but I am sure of one thing: The republics of the former USSR that are now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] will one day arrive at the idea of establishing something similar to our Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA). I do not see any reason, assuming that it will not be linked to any other conditions and will be based on mutual advantage, that we should not seek, if not membership, then at least participation in this market under conditions of reciprocity.

[Benko] In other words, the possible establishment of a free trade zone between Russia, Ukraine, and other CIS states, in which, according to your words, Slovakia would also like to become involved, should not be connected with the creation of a new international economic organization.

[Ducky] We are not interested in that, but we do not conceal the fact that we would welcome it if Ukraine became a CEFTA observer and, once it meets the conditions, possibly even a member. If Ukraine joined in, CEFTA would represent a market with some 200 million people. I agree with the view of Western geopoliticians and philosophers that there cannot be a democratic Europe and a democratic world without a democratic Russia. I wish Russia would settle its problems as soon as possible so that trade between us can start pulsating [pulzovat] in both directions. Right now, trade is one-sided: We import raw materials and pay for them.

[Benko] But what are we going to do about our energy dependence on Russia and the ensuing risks for our economy?

[Ducky] Everything costs something; we will run up against financial problems. We are considering reviving the Adria oil pipeline (from the Croatian Adriatic coast to Slovakia, via Hungary—editor's note), which would make possible a certain diversification of our energy sources. There is the possibility of connecting our Druzba [Friendship] oil pipeline to the Austrian AWT pipeline. We are working on this; the Transpetrol company is interested in this project. We will see how the situation evolves after the completion of the oil pipeline from Ingolstadt in Germany to the Czech Republic, whether oil can flow to Slovakia also from there. All these are future ideas. It is not good, also from the psychological viewpoint, to depend on a single supplier. Even if there is the best confidence, all kinds of things can happen—an earthquake, some other disaster, or local conflicts. But I have to say that the Russian approach toward strategic raw material supplies has been very responsible.

Inspectors Approve Progress in Weapons Destruction

LD1810150695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the Military Repair Works in Trencin [western Slovakia] today, a nine-member international inspection team, this time under U.S. leadership, gave its approval to the manner of destruction of 75 T-54 and T-55 tanks and the refitting of five tanks for use against land-based targets.

This 37th international inspection was the last at the Trencin plant because the process of destruction of surplus conventional technology and weaponry on the basis of the Vienna disarmament accords ended today at this plant in Trencin. Since 17 November 1992, a total of 732 armored personnel carriers and 160 tanks have been destroyed here in three separate phases. The very last of Slovakia's surplus tanks are to be destroyed on 26 October in Presov [eastern Slovakia]. The deadline for the Slovak Republic to complete this process in all spheres of military technology and weaponry is 13 November 1995.

'Sources' Claim 22 Ambassadors To Be Replaced

AU1810174595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Zita Sujova: "According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesman, the Dismissals of Ambassadors Have Not Yet Been Decided; According to Our Sources, 22 Will Have To Go"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] In yesterday's Radiozurnal [Slovak Radio news program], Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, described the planned dismissal of some ambassadors as a routine replacement that need not be "blown out of proportion." He did not specify the number of ambassadors or the dates of the dismissals. According to him, the rotation of people is an absolutely common occurrence, and diplomats' stays abroad are limited to three or four years. He admitted his dissatisfaction with the work of some ambassadors but pointed out that the government has not recalled anyone to date and that, therefore, he does not know why dates of dismissal should be spoken about. "People are simply being replaced, which is always a very individual affair," he said, adding that the aims were greater professionalism and better quality.

Yesterday we faxed to Maria Klimova, director of the Personnel Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a few questions that she passed on to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section. We asked what tasks ambassadors received at their Bratislava conference in April, at which level the decision on the dismissal of ambassadors was made, whether lower-ranking diplomats would also be affected, how many diplomats in which countries would be recalled, and whether it would not be a handicap for the Slovak Republic if, in the event of the president's refusal to recall an ambassador, this ambassador, according to Maria Klimova's own words, would be withdrawn anyway and his duties discharged by the charge d'affaires.

In the reply from Juraj Matejovsky, spokesman of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is stated, among other things, that, "regarding specific cases of dismissals of ambassadors and other diplomatic staff, no final decision has been made to date. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs submits the appropriate proposals to the government for a decision, which subsequently issues a recommendation to the president of the Slovak Republic to recall or replace ambassadors." Matejovsky pointed out that some of the present ambassadors had been dispatched abroad during the existence of the CSFR or have exceeded the customary length of stay in their post. The other portions of the statement are devoted to general observations on the ministry's personnel policy and do not answer our questions.

Editor's View: If Jozef Sestak believes that the whole affair does not deserve banner headlines, it is perhaps because he does not have the same information we have. Our sources speak about a preliminary list of 22 ambassadors (of the approximately 45 Slovakia has at present) who are ready to be disposed of. They include the proverbial Czechoslovakists, but even "Meciarites" who may have become "estranged from the nation" during their years abroad or who may have learned to think, whichever interpretation you prefer. But the bulk is supposedly made up of so-called members of other parties and president's men, but affected also are people occupying posts that had been promised to others. The following names are being mentioned: M. Lajcak (Japan), P. Vilikovsky (Great Britain), A. Kral (Germany), V. Dlhopolcek (Israel), E. Mitrova (Hungary), Professor Moravek (South Korea), M. Resutik (Romania), and so forth and so forth. If, in dismissing ambassadors, one really were to proceed according to how "shocking articles" about Slovakia are being written in individual countries, Ivan Mjartan, ambassador to the Czech Republic, would have to top the list. We did not find him on the list, however.

State Secretary on NATO Enlargement, Security

LD1910112595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Our foreign political reports are to follow. Our studio guest this morning is Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We would like him to comment on two items of news. Here is Istvan Palffy, the editor.

[Palffy] According to reports, the German defense minister Volker Ruehe said in Ujdorogd [in Hungary, where he inspected the Cooperative Light '95 command staff exercises, which is being held in Hungary within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program] that he hoped that both Hungary and Poland would become NATO members by the year 2000.

Let me contrast this report with another one, according to which Russian President Boris Yeltsin described a possible NATO expansion to Eastern Europe as madness. Why are these statements so extremely contradicting?

[Szent-Ivanyi] Of the two above mentioned positions we agree with Volker Ruehe's opinion. This is entirely in line with Hungarian expectations: We expect to become members by the year 2000. It is obvious that Russian domestic political life is playing a great role in the contrast between the two positions. Two elections are expected to be held in Russia in the near future. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, nationalist forces, which are dreaming about the empire, have strengthened in Russia. These forces seem to find an obstacle to their own ambition for power in the enlargement of NATO, and this is why their reaction is hysteria. Unfortunately, it can also be seen that they are trying to influence other parts of society with the threat of NATO enlargement, that is to say, these political forces are trying to manipulate them. It has a risk for us because, undoubtedly, Russia's strong objection can slow down the process. However, what we have asked in the capitals of NATO member states is to take into consideration the region's real security needs and carry on with the enlargement in line with this, according to original plans.

[Palffy] Although to a lesser extent, obviously, next year's U.S. presidential elections will also influence this process. In connection with this, let me read out our next news, according to which Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. national security adviser says that the expansion of NATO and the EU can only be expected in the first half of the next decade. The political scientist also considers it possible that the process would come to a halt and a rivalry for power would break out in the western part of the continent, that is Europe.

Between whom would it take place? Would they be England, Germany, and France? Is it likely to happen?

[Szent-Ivanyi] The possibility of this cannot be ruled out completely, but it would be a great problem if we returned to the policy of balance of power and rivalry. It has already led to two world wars. I think the only real remedy for this is the deepening of integration, that is the deepening of EU and NATO integration, to which the enlargement of these organizations is also closely attached. There is a need for a united Europe, and then we can prevent the revival of rivalry for power.

[Palffy] It seems that Jacques Chirac and Helmut Kohl have stable positions in these countries, but this integration process can be influenced by the elections due in England next year [as heard]—the Euro-skeptics, the Conservatives, John Major's future, or a possible victory of the Labour Party.

[Szent-Ivanyi] It is precisely the question. However, concerning the European Union, the Labour Party is more pro-European than John Major, that is to say, in our case no unfavorable change can be expected.

However, the Labour Party's views about NATO are indeed different: It is very cautious about its expansion. A change like this [the Labour Party's election victory] might slightly influence our NATO admission in an unfavorable direction.

[Announcer] Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, thank you very much for accepting "Morning Chronicle's" [this program] invitation.

Poll Reveals Ratings of Parties, Politicians

AU1110145695 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Oct pp 1, 6

[Correspondent's report on opinion poll on political situation in Hungary prepared for a conference of opposition parties entitled "Survival in a Democracy" and organized by the Strategic Advantage International Ltd in collaboration with the International Republican Institute and the Lajos Batthyany Foundation on 15-16 September: "Sympathies in September—Four Mostly Identically Popular Political Circles Have Emerged in Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The aim of this opinion poll was to provide the politicans of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP], the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] a picture of Hungary's current political situation.

Respondents were first asked whether they were happy: 19 percent said they were very happy, 63 percent said they were somewhat happy, and 17 percent said they were not happy at all. Asked how well the average people are living, 25 percent said that they were in a very difficult situation, and only 2 percent said that their situation was not particularly difficult. No one of the people in the survey thought that his situation would improve significantly in the next two or three years; 11 percent expected a slight improvement and 17 percent thought their situation would not change. However, 40 percent forecast a slight deterioration regarding their future and 28 percent forecast a considerable deterioration.

People were also asked how much they trusted or did not trust well known leading politicians. It turned out that most people showed a considerable lack of confidence in the present finance minister: 56 percent do not have any confidence in Lajos Bokros, followed by Jozsef Torgyan (39 percent), Gyula Horn (35 percent), Lajos Fur (32 percent), Sandor Lezsak and Ivan Szabo (28 percent), Viktor Orban (27 percent), Tamas Deutsch (26 percent), Laszlo Surjan (22 percent), Sandor Nagy and Gyorgy Giczy (21 percent), Laszlo Kover (20 percent), Ivan Peto (19 percent), Janos Latorcazai (17 percent), and Gabor Kuncze (16 percent). Turning the question around so that they were asked to name the politicians whom they trust most, 11 percent chose Jozsef Torgyan, followed by Gabor Kuncze and Sandor Nagy (8 percent), Gyula Horn and Viktor Orban (6 percent each), Ivan Peto (5 percent), Laszlo Surjan (4 percent), Lezsak, Giczy, Deutsch, and Bokros (2 percent), and Latorczai (1 percent).

The same question was put referring to individual parties. It turned out from the survey that most people have confidence in the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], followed by the KDNP and the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], and then the FIDESZ, the MDF, and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. (In this case, on a scale of five points maximum, the SZDSZ scored an average of 2.6 points, and the MDF had an average of 2.16 points.)

The survey also wanted to know whether people approved of Prime Minister Gyula Horn's activity. Some 27 percent said they approved of it, but 61 percent said they did not. Some 22 percent regarded the present prime minister highly unsuitable, 29 percent regarded him as moderately suitable, but only 5 percent thought he was very suitable, so the average score was 2.59. (The government scored 2.33 points on the same question). It is interesting that 39 percent thought Jozsef Antall was a better prime minister, while 34 percent opted for the present prime minister, and 23 percent did not know.

Perhaps the most interesting question of the survey was whether there was any politician today in Hungary more suitable for the position of prime minister than Gyula Horn. A quarter of the people in the survey said that there was no more suitable politician for this position today in Hungary, while 15 percent named Gabor Kuncze, 13 percent nominated Jozsef Torgyan, 4 percent nominated Sandor Nagy, and 3 percent thought that Viktor Orban, Peter Boross, or Gabor Demszky were more suitable.

Asked about what the opposition should do in the present situation, most people said that it should hinder the government from taking further mistaken steps and the least number of people said the opposition should take over government as soon as possible. It transpired from the survey that 31 percent had heard of the Civic Alliance, but 66 percent had not. It is surprising that more than half of the people who supported the three parties had not heard of the Civic Alliance. Some 3 percent named Viktor Orban, Ivan Szabo, and Jozsef Torgyan as head of the alliance; 4 percent said there is no one or that none of the aforementioned people was suitable, and 6 percent were unable to give an answer.

The issue of whether or not the FKGP should be a member of the Civic Alliance and how many parties should form the conservative opposition has become a major problem recently. Just like the politicians, the people in the survey were rather divided on this issue. Some 29 percent thought that it would be better for the FKGP to be a member of the alliance, but 34 percent people voted in favor of tripartite cooperation. The fact that 35 percent of the people were unable to answer this question shows the prevailing uncertainty. In connection with this, the people in the survey were also asked whether Torgyan's popularity would increase in the future. Some 39 percent thought that Torgyan's popularity would increase, 34 percent thought it would remain unchanged, and 17 percent thought it would drop.

Some 13 percent explained Torgyan's popularity by calling him courageous, outspoken, open, and sincere; 9 percent said that Torgyan is popular because he is right; 8 percent said that Torgyan kept promising things because he opposed the government. It is interesting that only 4 percent of the people said that Torgyan's popularity is due to the fact that he appears a lot in public and has great publicity or that he is a clever and thoughtful good professional who knows his job. The survey also wanted to know people's opinions about the level of extremism of the parliamentary parties. The

FKGP received the worst mark: 33 percent of the people thought this party was very extremist, while the KDNP and the SZDSZ were regarded as the most sober-minded parties.

In conclusion, the survey asked which party they would vote for if elections were held this Sunday. (The survey was done in the first week of September). The fact that 26 percent would not vote and 15 percent did not know who to vote for proves the political apathy and disappointment prevailing in Hungary. On the list of parties, the FKGP leads with 15 percent, followed by the MSZP with 14 percent, and the SZDSZ with 12 percent. The members of the three-party Civic Alliance together would get 14 percent of the votes (FIDESZ 5 percent; KDNP 5 percent; and MDF 4 percent). Among the nonparliamentary parties, the Workers Party received 1 percent and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] got 0 percent, while 1 percent of people named other parties. And 2 percent did not give an answer).

The reader can draw a clear conclusions from this survey: There were four political powers of almost identical size in Hungary in September 1995 and the changes in these forces will determine the results of the next elections.

Border Police View Cooperation With Army

AU1610180695 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Oct 95 p 6

[Interview with Balazs Novaky, national commander of the Hungarian Border Police, by Denes Galantai; place and date not given: "The MiG-29's Can Be There Within Minutes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, Lieutenant General Balazs Novaky, national commander of the Border Police, presented a unit flag to the Mura Border Guards Unit set up in November 1990. Unit Commander Gyula Zamba personally handed over the flag in a ceremony at Letenye Camp. Balazs Novaky gave us an interview on the major topical border police issues.

[Novaky] The decision to set up border guard units was a correct one and both the units participating in the strengthening of the southern border and the units defending the other border zones deserve our appreciation.

[Galantai] It transpired during recent inspections that border guard units have inadequate equipment in many respects. They lack bulletproof vests and infrared nightvision telescopes and their armored vehicles are not quite up-to-date, either. We have heard that this equipment is expected to arrive in exchange for the former Soviet Union's debt toward Hungary. When will it arrive?

[Novaki] Indeed, we lack some of the equipment and combat technology that would be needed under the present circumstances in the Baranya region. The purchase of bulletproof vests is definitely justified and we also need nightvision devices, although we have a number of such devices. Hopefully, the supply of this equipment will commence as early as in this year; we already have some bulletproof clothing and we are examining it now to see the extent to which it meets Hungarian standards. The supply of armored vehicles and nightvision devices will commence soon. We also expect to get armor-piercing weapons and marksman's rifles in the near future. This equipment will considerably improve the combat and defense capability of the border guard units in the future. The time of arrival of this equipment largely depends on the transporters, but we hope the supply will begin in a matter of weeks, or a month at the latest. It is equally important that we improve the supply of adequate clothes. For example, for the first time in the history of the Border Guards, we have supplied sleeping bags to our soldiers....We will see what next year's budget will allow us.

[Galantai] How much extra expense has the Border Guard incurred so far in strengthening the border zone with the Krajina?

[Novaki] According to a survey that we carried out recently, maintaining the combat readiness in this region is costing us an extra more than 50 million forints. Hopefully, these expenses will drop with time. The heating season is just beginning. We cannot save on food norms; nor can we save on the justified extra pay for extra work carried out by our professional staff and civilian employees. However, I think that, from now on, our major aim will be to guarantee our safety and the careful supply of provisions to the people who guarantee the sovereignty of our borders.

[Galantai] To what extent will the regrouping of the border guard units weaken the defense of other border zones where there is illegal migration of people?

[Novaki] It will somewhat weaken it, but it is more precise to say that the burdens are increasing on the staff that have remained at their bases. The work must continue to be done with the same efficiency as before. Unfortunately, we are not the ones to decide how many people want to violate the borders and where; however, it is our task to catch these people and the extra burdens are borne by the entire Border Guards.

[Galantai] In case of an incident, what connections are there between the Border Guards and the army, if the defense against superior numbers requires the deployment of Hungarian land forces or even the air force? One could even imagine that foreign forces crossing our borders might have air cover. In the event that they are needed, how much time does the Hungarian Air Force need to intervene?

[Novaki] We have a cooperation system worked out to the minute and we have coordinated plans. We have tried out the system of possible joint combat action in practice and, thus, through the technical and telecommunication system, the army can be deployed in the shortest time possible. In the event of the MiG-29s stationed in Kecskemet, or about 300 kilometers from here, being used, it is easy to calculate that, at 2,000 km per hour, the warplanes could be here from Kecskemet in a few minutes....

Szokai Optimistic About Privatization Income

AU1810155795 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Oct 95 p 11

[Interview with Imre Szokai, chairman of the State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation's board of directors, by Sarolta Osvath; place and date not given: "Privatization Will End by 1996—Imre Szokai on the Questions of Acceleration, the Struggle of Lobbies, and National Schmoozing"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Osvath] Interest in the Antenna Hungaria broadcasting company has proved to be poor—only one foreigner made a bid for its privatization. According to many people, this clearly indicates that Hungarian privatization has come to a blind alley because the Antenna Hungaria would be the first "big bite" for foreign capital. What conclusion can be drawn from this as regards the privatization chances of the other major strategic companies?

[Szokai] Let us start by asking if this indeed characterizes the image of Hungarian privatization. Obviously, the question frequently asked by correspondents, macro economists, and politicians lies behind this: Is privatization slow or fast? And they try to draw far-reaching and general conclusions from this. In my view, rather than being fast or slow, privatization is characterized by being good or bad, successful or not. In fact, success cannot mainly be measured by selling something for much money. This is only one of the indicators. The main point is whether the privatization is to benefit the whole Hungarian society. The fact that a company happens to have one applicant, in spite of the former interest, only shows that there is one applicant. At the moment, much interest is shown toward all the others—the electricity industry and the gas suppliers. However, no one yet can tell the number of concrete offers we will get. Actually, the Antenna Hungaria is not so attractive a business as the gas suppliers, the power stations, the MOL [Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation] and MATAV [Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise], or other industrial and trade companies which play an important role in the market. The Antenna Hungaria is not a bad company but it requires much investment. We will only find out in one and a half to two months whether its privatization is successful, when we can see if we manage to make a contract with the French company that has made the offer. After this, we will be able to assess the price, and the development and other obligations, to see if the Antenna Hungaria's privatization is successful. [passage omitted]

[Osvath] Will this year's planned privatization income of 150 billion forints be put back in the economy? And do you think it is achievable?

[Szokai] It will definitely have to be put back in it. It would be a big mistake to put it all into the budget's holed sack. In connection with the 150 billion income, I note that I have never in my life heard it to be announced in a process based on business calculations that 150 billion is needed. From this point on, the potential buyer can sit back and say that, if you so badly need the money, you will still be coming lower....In my view, this is a mistaken role.

[Osvath] Does this mean that you will not get the 150 billion?

[Szokai] Of course we will.

[Osvath] All in all, privatization incomes this year have not exceeded 50 billion forints. The privatization organization has only paid in 9 billion to the budget. On what do you base your optimism?

[Szokai] This is reality, rather than optimism. We have not yet made any real big transactions this year, the income comes from the so-called residue. If the privatizations intended for this year can be implemented in accordance with our plans, we can easily achieve the 150 billion.

[Osvath] What are the concretely planned transactions?

[Szokai] I do not believe they should be made public. This is a similar issue to the income. Business plans are never made public. In my view, it is a serious mistake for civil servants to talk irresponsibly in public without any consequences when these pieces of information mean billions of forints for the country. This is not joke. You either do business or you talk about it. [passage omitted]

[Osvath] Due to the delay in privatization, state assets are losing much of their value, according to some calculations, this amounts to 6 billion forints a months. At the time the government came to power, the assets awaiting privatization were estimated at 1,500 billion forints; now, after a year, how much can they be worth?

[Szokai] This is probably true, I cannot say how much the loss of value is. However, in my view, this is not the main point. The whole thing is based on a fiction because, when privatizations were started, no one knew the value of the assets. Then compared to what do you ask how much it is now? However, it is a fact that if the various owners do not act in accordance with the market, it almost certainly leads to a loss of value. [passage omitted]

[Osvath] How are the country's long-term economic interests asserted through the individual privatization cases? In addition to the privatization of major companies, for which the government has assigned the strategic goal, many other companies are also in state ownership whose sale would determine the fate of industrial branches and professions. What concept do you follow in these cases?

[Szokai] The State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation [APV RT] does not make its decisions alone. We consult the ministries, the professional and interest groups, and the competition office, and we assess the opinions. We usually make decisions after thorough professional preparations.

[Osvath] When can we expect privatizations to be completed?

[Szokai] When the privatization of the major public services is completed, the state sphere's current 50 percent proportion will come down to about 30 to 40 percent. Who can tell me how much this should be when privatization is finished? How much should it be, 12 or 28 percent?

[Osvath] Some economists believe 10 to 12 percent is ideal.

[Szokai] Name a country that has this proportion. The proportion is higher in most of the developed western countries. It is around 30 percent in France, Germany, Britain, Sweden, or Austria. On this basis, we can actually say that privatization will be finished in Hungary in 1996. From there on, the APV RT, as an actor in the market, will buy, sell, and manage assets, shares, and bonds.

[Osvath] The privatization law prescribes increased controls in the interest of the clarity of the process. What can be expected of this? Has the public's negative image of privatization changed?

[Szokai] This is unlikely. It has to be seen that the majority of people are far from this process; they do not privatize but they suffer the process as employees. As they do not really know it, they are apprehensive. Certain corrupt cases have upset the public and most of the cases have not been proved. However, even this has to be handled cautiously because how can the accused person prove that he has done nothing? This is a typical case of the stolen coat....

[Osvath] Nevertheless, the coat has been stolen.

[Szokai] The image of privatization might improve when the political battles surrounding it become more moderate, and when its advantages can be felt in society, in living circumstances, earnings, and employment.

[Osvath] Should these not be felt yet? The private sphere is already 50 percent.

[Szokai] Certain signs already exist, in constructions, and in some places in the provinces I can see that life is changing. At most of the companies with majority privatization, especially at those which are now in foreign hands, the working conditions are on European level. When this becomes widespread, the views on privatization will also change. I am also thinking of other points, for example, through privatization, the MOL, or other domestic companies, can turn into companies of international reputation which can themselves appear as investors and expand in the eastern European market. This will presumably have a positive effect on the situation of the Hungarian economy and on domestic circumstances.

[Osvath] When do you predict this to happen?

[Szokai] We are certainly facing six or seven tough years.

National Security Bill Submitted to Parliament

LD1610213095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The secret services will also have certain tasks in fighting against organized crime. Among other things this was proposed by Istvan Nikolits, minister in charge of civilian secret services, who submitted the bill on national security services to parliament [today].

[Unidentified correspondent] By the approval of the bill it will be possible to create a two-tier guarantee system. Submitting the bill, Nikolits stressed that parliamentary control, on the one hand, would safeguard society from possible abuses of power by the services and, on the other, it might strengthen the services' self-defense against illegal influences. The bill creates a framework in which the competence of the parliament's National Security Committee should not depend on the balance of power of the time.

Although as a result of a political compromise, the term of organized crime has been left out of the draft, the National Security Office will continue to investigate and avert concealed efforts endangering the country's economic security, the minister said, referring to privatization frauds, forgery, and money laundering.

The national security services should not be led by party political interests, Nikolits said. They can only investigate and avert activities that intend to change or disturb the constitutional order in an illegal way, or attack the values or institutions of the legal state.

The three relevant parliamentary committees supported the bill. The party's speakers are to react to the bill on the next occasion, probably next week.

Mediators Announce 'Small Step' Toward Peace

AU1810173695 Paris AFP in English
1707 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 18 (AFP)—International mediators announced "another small step" towards peace in Bosnia Wednesday with an agreement between Yugoslavia and Bosnia to open liaison offices in each other's capitals.

The offices would provide a "method of direct communication" between Sarajevo and Belgrade but fell short of diplomatic recognition, said US assistant secretary of state Richard Holbrooke, the lead mediator in international efforts to end Bosnia's 42 month-old war.

Serb-led Yugoslavia has refused to recognise Bosnia since it broke from the federation in 1992.

Holbrooke and the co-chairmen of the five-nation "contact group", Carl Bildt for the European Union and Igor Ivanov of Russia made the announcement after meeting with Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo Wednesday.

The trio flew in earlier from Belgrade, where they had met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The Serb strongman is negotiating on behalf of his Serb proxies in Bosnia but has long been seen as the driving force behind the bloody efforts to carve out Serb-only areas in neighbouring Bosnia and Croatia.

There is little chance of the liason offices opening soon however, diplomats admitted. The timing "was dependent on logistics and assumes full respect for the ceasefire" Holbrooke said. A six-day old ceasefire in Bosnia is still shaky in parts of the country.

"This is only a small step on a difficult long road but each step helps. this is the one for today," Holbrooke said.

Izetbegovic Comments on Talks, Elections

AU1810203795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As we have already reported, the talks that U.S. peace mediator Richard Holbrooke, EU representative Carl Bildt, and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov held with a Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation headed by Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic concluded in Sarajevo this afternoon. Richard Holbrooke and President Alija Izetbegovic made statements on the results of the talks today.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Izetbegovic] This was obviously the most important news from today's talks. However, the meeting was mostly devoted to preparations for the conference, that is to say, the talks that are to open on 31 October. The venue of the talks is probably already known [words indistinct].

We, of course, had complaints, which we presented to our collocutors and that is that the Serb side is violating the cease-fire along almost the entire lines. We particularly pointed out the problem of these two roads, which are still not open, the Kiseljak-Sarajevo and Gorazde-Sarajevo roads. I called Mr. Holbrooke's attention to the arrest of two Turkish journalists on this road, which clearly shows that this road is not safe.

I also said that water is not coming into the city. After being asked by our side, Mr. Bildt has taken it on himself to [words indistinct] at the Serb side to persuade them to let the water into the city without delay or we will be forced to take some countermeasures if they continue to obstruct the water, that is, they should let that water into Bacevo.

Also under discussion, of course, were some expert issues directly regarding negotiations, that is, the topic of negotiations—the problem of elections. We have not made any decisions, but have thoroughly examined various aspects and analyzed the problem of the elections, the registration of voters, and polling sites. It is in our interest for the elections to be held within the year when troops of NATO and other countries that implement the agreement are present. However, it is also in our interest to have a large number of people return before the elections. It will most probably not be possible to coordinate these two requirements, so we will have to chose which of the two is more suitable to us.

Of course, we reiterated our determination that it should not be possible for war criminals to stand for election. We are sure, at least it seems to us, that there is agreement on that. This is approximately what we [word indistinct] these three hours of the talks. [end recording]

Cease-Fire Talks Held at Sarajevo Airport

AU1810204095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As BH PRESS has learned at the State Committee for Cooperation With the United Nations, the first meeting was held at Sarajevo airport today in the presence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] with a view to establishing rules for monitoring the recently reached cease-fire agreement. The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation was led by Brigadier Nedzad Ajnandzic.

The purpose of the meeting was to establish the line of separation and the procedure for monitoring the cease-fire. The position of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government was reiterated that any break in Sarajevo's supply of electricity and water will be considered a violation of the agreement on cessation of hostilities.

It was also demanded that the aggressors' side and UNPROFOR meet their obligations from previous agreements and ensure establishment of civilian traffic along the agreed directions toward Sarajevo and out of it, as well as towards Gorazde.

SDP Criticizes SDA, HDZ Work on Federation

AU1810171295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on SDP news conference in Sarajevo on 18 October]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democratic Party [SDP] has many times stressed the unacceptably sluggish process of establishing the Federation. The Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] are to blame for this; although they have many times agreed and signed many documents on [word indistinct] terms, the two mixed cantons, the Neretva and the Central Bosnia ones, are nothing more than a dead letter.

The coordination bodies, consisting only of SDA and HDZ members, bear all the responsibility for this. SDP Organizing Secretary Karlo Filipovic says that the SDP can only observe activities in this sphere from the outside. This leads to many deviations, such as the failure to constitute the transitional authorities in Vares. The post of the Vares municipal head should be occupied by a SDP member and the main obstacles in the way of this are being placed by the HDZ. The position of the ombudsman must be implemented and the process of establishing the Federation speeded up.

The new electoral law in the Republic of Croatia, which authorizes electoral lists containing the names of a certain number of Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, represents a system unprecedented in the world. In Filipovic's opinion, this is a violation of the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

SDP Presidency Member Nijaz Skenderagic spoke about the refugees and their return, saying that the cease-fire must be used to work on efficient ways to effect the refugees' return. The appropriate ministry is obviously making major efforts, but the SDP thinks that more extensive activity is necessary in this sphere. The conditions exist for the return of refugees on the territory of the Federation, but there are no results. Who is making this process impossible? If we treat this problem so irresponsibly, one can only assume what problems will arise on the Serb-occupied territories. The example of Jajce and other towns on the territory of the Federation—Capljina, Stolac, and Kakanj—is a disgrace. The only positive example is the return of refugees to the territory of Bosnian Krajina. In this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the refugees' return is not being obstructed by dubious security issues.

Bosnians Accuse Croatia of Moving King's Remains

AU1410152195 Paris AFP in English 0351 GMT 14 Oct 95

[By Dina Neretljak]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 14 (AFP)—The director of the Bosnian state museum has urged the government here to press Croatia to return the remains of the last Bosnian king, which were reported to have been retrieved recently by Croatian troops in central Bosnia.

Enver Imamovic, in a letter to the Foreign Ministry, appealed to the government to demand that Croatia "return the remains without delay" to the state museum.

"Since this is an illegal abstraction of an extremely important Bosnian national heritage by a foreign country, we demand that the government do everything to have the remains returned to the owner, the Bosnian state museum," Imamovic wrote.

Croatian and foreign media reported that Croatian regular troops retrieved the remains of King Stjepan Tomasevic, who ruled Bosnia from 1461 to 1463, from the central Bosnian town of Jajce. Imamovic said the removal of the remains was carried out with neither Bosnian knowledge nor approval.

Jajce was taken by allied Croatian and Bosnian Croat forces from rebel Serbs last month. Although having a Muslim majority before war erupted in 1992, the Croats have still not allowed the mainly Muslim Bosnian Army or Muslim refugees to enter the city.

Jajce has a symbolic significance for Bosnians as the town where the medieval Bosnian kingdom fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1463. Despite having been promised his freedom on surrender, King Stjepan Tomasevic was beheaded by the Turks on the outskirts of Jajce.

But Croats claim it to be an "historical Croat town," since official Croatian propaganda holds that medieval Bosnia was ruled by Croat kings.

Bosnian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mirza Hajric told AFP Friday [13 October] that no protest has yet been made because the Bosnian Government is still gathering information on the matter.

"This is something we give enormous significance to and the government will decide on the proper reaction in the forthcoming days," Hajric said.

Imamovic insisted that the removal of the remains had a political meaning because "many sides are still challenging Bosnia's statehood and the remains of the dynasty that ruled Bosnia 500 years ago are one of the irrefutable proofs of Bosnia's statehood."

The case follows controversial comments by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who told the Paris daily LE FIGARO in September that a "majority of Bosnian Muslims are Croats by origin."

Tudjman also said the task of Croatia was to "Europeanize Bosnian Muslims and make sure they do not become Islamic fundamentalists."

The comments sparked great irritation among Bosnian Muslims. In a poll conducted by the Sarajevo daily DNEVNI AVAZ, more than two thirds of those interviewed dismissed Tudjman's remarks but warned that they could threaten a fragile Muslim-Croat alliance in Bosnia as well as relations between Bosnia and Croatia.

Since March 1994 Bosnian Croats and Muslims have been linked in a federation that in future is to confederate with Croatia.

Bosnian Muslims, very often claimed by both Serbs and Croats as part of their communities, are for historical reasons particularly sensitive to Tudjman's claims.

During World War II, when almost half of Bosnia was a part of the puppet Independent State of Croatia (NDH) linked to Nazi Germany, Muslims were to have been assimilated under the notion that they were "the flower of Croathood."

The current sensitivity reflects a widespread fear here "that in the future confederation something similar could happen," according to DNEVNI AVAZ.

Karadzic Outlines Military, Political Situation

Holds News Conference in Banja Luka

AU1910120095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 95

[Report by Milana Kovacevic on a news conference held by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Banja Luka on 18 October — Karadzic's remarks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, held a news conference in Banja Luka, at which he spoke about the current military and political situation in the republic, as well as the prospects of the peace process for the former Bosnia in the light of the recent international community's efforts [passage indistinct]. Milana Kovacevic has a report:

[Kovacevic] President Karadzic reminded those present of the fact that the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina crossed the line of of being only a civil war a long time ago, and that the Serb people have, since this summer, been exposed to Croatia's [words indistinct] in NATO attacks. Peace has not been established in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina because the international community, preventing the defeat of the Croat-Muslim forces, did not want a political resolution to the crisis.

Concerning the resumed peace process, President Karadzic said that the Serb Republic [in Bosnia] was made official with the Geneva meeting, and that the Serb side will not and cannot accept the results of Croat-Muslim aggression after 8 September 1995.

Asked by reporters whether we should rely on the international community to punish the conflicting side that violates the ceasefire agreement in the situation in which Croat and Muslim forces attack the borders of the Serb Republic even after UN observers arrived at the western Krajina front, President Karadzic said:

[Karadzic] If the international community, particularly America, wants to be trusted in the future, it must force Croatia to stop and, later, to withdraw to the lines that were the factual situation before the NATO and Croatian aggression.

Naturally, we are not completely relying on the international community. We must defend what is ours by our own means, and we will do so by all means and with all our forces; we will defend it through the reorganization of our Army, by replacing the brigade commanders who did not carry out their tasks, by complete mobilization, if necessary—we will mobilize even women and retirees—we will defend ourselves at all costs. However, the international community, which is now threatening all the conflicting sides for the first time, must, for the sake of its credibility, meet its obligations, which consist of stopping and making the Croat-Muslim Federation and the Republic of Croatia return to their initial positions.

[Kovacevic] The reporters of independent Belgrade media wanted to know if it was true that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has been refusing to meet with a delegation from the Serb Republic. Dr. Karadzic answered:

[Karadzic] It does not mean that there will definitely be no meeting. We have normalized our relations with Serbia, to the regret of our enemies. It has always been better when Serbs worked together than separately, and the times are such that we cannot and have no right to work apart from each other. We will coordinate our negotiation positions and efforts with Yugoslavia, with Serbia, and we have a joint delegation on a parity basis that is to negotiate in Washington—and before Washington, in Paris—with international mediators and our enemies. We have contacts with Serbia, and we will have contacts with Serbia in the future; we believe there will never again be a significant reason for [words indistinct].

[Kovacevic] The reporters wanted to know about the relations between the state authorities and President Karadzic personally on the one hand and the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic on the other. They also asked whether it was true that the four generals who have been relieved of their duties by an Assembly decision have refused to obey the decision. President Karadzic said the following:

[Karadzic] It is not true. There is a paper going round, which is not signed, but [words indistinct]. Officers who are assigned new tasks have no legal or other possibility but to move from their positions or retire; there is no possibility for them not to carry out the orders. They have not done so, either [words indistinct].

[Kovacevic] Since the cease-fire agreement for the entire territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, for which the U. S. Administration was one of the guarantors, has made it possible for peace negotiations to continue, the reporters were interested in future Serb steps in the peace process regarding the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. The president of the Serb Republic said:

[Karadzic] I believe that proximity meetings with the mediators should take place in Belgrade; meetings between them and the delegations of FRY and the Serb Republic, to consider what is in dispute and what is not, and to make the negotiation and agreement process in Washington easier.

I think that the political documents are more or less defined. There are things to be resolved, but the new bodies will probably resolve what is not resolved yet after the elections. Maps remain the main issue. I think that the maps will be very important to the international community, too. What we are demanding is that the centuries-old Serb territory be returned to the Krajina, as the western part of the Serb Republic. Our delegation will establish that with President Milosevic; they will establish minimums below which we cannot go, since, after the aggression of NATO and the Republic of Croatia, we cannot accept some new factual situation.

If the international community was prepared to accept the factual situation, it should have done so when we were in control of 70 percent. If the international community decides that it will accept the factual situation, then the Serb people can create the factual situation in which we are again in control of 70 percent and of the whole of Croatia. Therefore, if the factual situation was not good when we were in control of 70 percent, it is not good now, either. We were prepared even then to negotiate the territorial issues. The map will be the greatest stumbling block, the most difficult issue at the conference.

[Kovacevic] Correspondents from all the media in our republic, a large number of [words indistinct] from Serbia, and many foreign correspondents attended President Karadzic's press conference.

Current Peace Not Necessarily Final

LD1910101495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Oct (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic and of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS SZ], warned last night that "there can be no pardoning of mistakes made in the political or military sphere" and that "each person must bear the consequences for his responsibilities."

Making his introductory address at an expanded session of the Banja Luka SDS SZ municipal committee, Dr. Karadzic said "individuals are to blame for all the failings hitherto, and the people must know the truth about the degree to which they [the individuals] are responsible."

The president of the Serb Republic stressed that the defense lines on the western Krajina sector of the front are stable and he assessed that "Banja Luka and Prijedor are no longer in danger."

Speaking about the current peace process, Dr. Karadzic warned that "we must be prepared for the fact that a peace prepared by the United States does not have to be a final peace." He added that at the same time we must counter rumors that sow discord among our people.

President Karadzic said that at the talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia on the peace negotiations he would stress "that the minimum territorial demand of the Serb Republic is that its border should extend to Ostrelj, between Drvar and Petrovac."

The supreme commander of the Bosnian Serb Armed Forces noted the dangers of regionalism and separatism.

[Words indistinct] of the SDS SZ municipal committee, devoted to the military and political situation in the country, was resumed behind closed doors.

Urges End to Croatian Aggression

LD1810205095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Oct (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and supreme commander of its armed forces, said today that he hopes the United States will not allow its peace initiative to become a bloody farce and that Washington is firm in its intent to bring a lasting peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"If the United States and the international community want our trust then Croatia must be forced to end its aggression against the Serb Republic and immediately withdraw its troops from ancestral Serb territories, occupied with the support of NATO and the Muslims," Karadzic warned at a news conference in Banja Luka.

According to Karadzic, the international community should immediately stop tolerating Croatian-Muslim attacks and violations of the cease-fire agreement, particularly the involvement of Croatia in these operations because, as he stressed, Croatia can never be trusted.

"The Geneva agreement marked a new beginning of the peace process, i.e., the return of the Serb Republic to the peace negotiations. The blockade on the river Drina was supposed to end on that day, as were the clashes and territorial conquests," Karadzic said, adding: "If the Croatian-Muslim aggression continues the Serb Republic will defend its territory with all its resources and forces." The president of the Serb Republic said that the involvement of Croatia and NATO in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is a classic act of aggression against the Serb people causing a mass exodus of the Serbs from the western part of the Serb Republic.

Noting that a meeting will soon take place in Belgrade between the international mediators and a delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic "in order to examine disputed and undisputed issues and facilitate the negotiating process in Washington scheduled for 31 October, Karadzic stressed: "The maps remain the main issue as we are going to demand that ancestral Serb lands be returned to Krajina as the western part of the Serb Republic."

"Together with President Milosevic, our delegation will set a minimum below which one cannot and should not go as it is impermissible to accept the new reality on the ground following the aggression of Croatia and NATO."

Later on, at the news conference in Banja Luka, Karadzic stressed that "the unsigned statement that was circulated by the media today" as a reaction of the Main Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic to the conclusions arising from the 54th session of the People's Assembly, was a "forgery".

"It is obvious that the author of this paper wanted to upset our public," Karadzic said. He noted that the way some media in Belgrade reported on the political and security situation in the Serb Republic is "destructive."

"Why are some people so intent on destabilizing the situation in the Serb Republic? This small people, this million and half people are suffering the kind of battering as no other people in the history of mankind. Does this now have to be boosted by these attacks from Belgrade," Karadzic asked.

Claims French Pilots 'Kidnapped'

AU1810165195 Paris AFP in English 1620 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb rebel leader Radovan Karadzic announced here Wednesday that two French pilots, shot down during a NATO bombing mission, had been "kidnapped from hospital."

"The French pilots were kidnapped from hospital, either by a group seeking a ransom, or by Bosnian Moslems," Karadzic told a press conference in this Bosnian Serb stronghold.

Karadzic said he had ordered a "rigourous" inquiry into the incident, but there had as yet been no breakthroughs.

The airmen's Mirage jet fighter was shot down over Serb-held territory near Pale on August 30, during the first day of Operation Deliberate Force, NATO's bombing campaign to force the rebel Serbs to withdraw their heavy guns from around Sarajevo.

In the days following the incident, a reliable source in Pale said the airmen were arrested by the Serb authorities having parachuted from the blazing plane, and were in "good health."

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette said during a visit to Belgrade Wednesday that he would endeavour to get further information from Serbian officials on the whereabouts of the two airmen since the downing.

Koljevic Protests Cease-Fire Violations

LD1810202195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Oct (SRNA)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic and chairman of the state committee for liaison with the United Nations, today protested against cease-fire violations and asked UNPROFOR [UN Protection

Force] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina General Rupert Smith to use force against those who are failing to comply with the cease-fire agreement.

In his letter sent to General Smith today Koljevic warns that attacks by Croatian and Muslim units are continuing despite the deployment of UN observers.

"I am asking you to studiously analyze violations of the cease-fire agreement and propose, on the basis of the existing agreement between the United Nations and NATO, that the side causing the continuation of the war be militarily punished," Koljevic's letter says.

Recalling that seven wide-caliber shells hit Prijedor yesterday and that artillery attacks on Serb villages in the area of Mt. Manjaca continued today, Koljevic asks General Smith to "prevent these actions and further concentration of Croatian and Muslim units militarily if it proves impossible to do it otherwise."

"Despite air strikes, which have so far been directed only against the Serb side, I am convinced that NATO does not wish to be regarded as being a part of the Croatian-Muslim armed forces; hence, I am calling on you to seriously examine this fair proposal by the Serb Republic political and military leadership, which is of great importance for peace," the Serb Republic vice president's letter says.

In reply to a letter General Smith sent him three days ago, Koljevic welcomes the United Nations' intention to increase the number of observers who will monitor the sides' compliance with the cease-fire agreement and proposes that they should be deployed in the area of Doboj, Gradiska, Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], Trnovo, Orasje, and Bronzani Majdan.

Koljevic also informed Smith that the Main Staff of the Serb Republic Army and its commander, Colonel General Ratko Mladic, are in complete agreement with the increase in the number of observers.

Serb Party Sees 'Deep Political Crisis'

AU1810173895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Feeling deep compassion with the people of the Banja Luka region, which is facing a humanitarian catastrophe, the citizens of [Bosnian] Posavina, Semberija, Podrinje, Birce, Romanija, and the Serb Sarajevo are convinced that the deep political crisis that is shaking the foundations of the Serb Republic [Serb-held part of Bosnia-Herzegovina] can be solved only by a government comprising honorable men capable of countering the hardships of war. We are certain that a government that establishes political cooperation with official Belgrade and Podgorica, and renews the economic relations between the Serb Republic on the one hand and Serbia and Montenegro on the other, will be warmly greeted not only by the citizens of the Serb Republic but also by a great number of citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

This is said in a statement by the Democratic Party of Federalists of Derventa, Bijeljina, Bratunac, Zvornik, Sekovici, Vlasenica, Skelani, Pale, and [Serb-held] Novo Sarajevo.

Official Views Possible Coup Against Karadzic

AU1810183495 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 95 p 12

[Interview with Aleksandar Vucic, SRS deputy in the FRY Assembly, by G.R. in Belgrade on 16 October: "The Sacked General Tolimir Could Use His Military Police To Stage Coup Against Karadzic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Banja Luka is very complicated. Everything is being done to recruit people for a coup against the president of the Serb Republic [Serb-held part of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. This morning leaflets appeared in Banja Luka. No one knows who is behind them, but they are calling for a coup. Serbian Radical Party [SRS] deputy Aleksandar Vucic told this exclusively to TELEGRAF on Monday [16 October] upon his return to Belgrade after visiting Banja Luka for several days.

[TELEGRAF] Can you tell us in more detail what the leaflets said?

[Vucic] The leaflets said: "Rise up, Krajina!" and "Let us overthrow those who allowed our towns to fall!" Almost everything hints at Radovan Karadzic.

[TELEGRAF] Is Karadzic's name specifically mentioned?

[Vucic] Nobody is mentioned specifically, but everyone knows who this is aimed at. All the citizens of Banja Luka are talking about it. Radio Krajina has been set up these days in the city. Every two hours Mayor Radic speaks on this radio very directly—it could not be more directly—against Radovan Karadzic.

[TELEGRAF] What does he say?

[Vucic] That Karadzic is to be blamed for the fall of all those towns, that he has been forcing the Herzegovina lobby, that he is always against [Bosnian] Krajina, and so on.

[TELEGRAF] What is the atmosphere like in Banja Luka?

[Vucic] It is extremely tense in the city. There are snipers on top of the Hotel Bosnia, around it, everywhere. There is talk that some army barracks are on a high state of alert, that General Tolimir will not accept his dismissal, and that he could use his military police in a coup against Karadzic.

[TELEGRAF] The assembly did not endorse the proposal for the dismissal of the political leadership of the Serb Republic.

[Vucic] Radovan Karadzic managed to win over a few deputies who had initially backed the proposal that Andjelko Grahovac should be the new prime minister. Then he did everything routinely. By the way, nothing terribly exciting happened in the assembly session.

[TELEGRAF] Who could become the new prime minister?

[Vucic] There is talk that it could be Rajko Kasagic.

[TELEGRAF] Will President Karadzic endorse his candidacy?

[Vucic] Looks like it.

[TELEGRAF] Has the Serb army advanced on the fronts over the last few days?

[Vucic] The 5th Kozara Brigade and the 6th Sana Brigade advanced yesterday and today. However the job on Bocac has not been done in the way it should have been.

Serb Opposition Party Warns Against Coup

LD1810215595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (SRNA)—The Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka—SRS] today warned against the possibility of a coup in the Serb Republic.

According to a SRS statement received by BETA, "the coup is to be staged, following Belgrade's instructions, by Milosevic's communist generals headed by retired officers Gvero, Tolimir, Boric, and Djukic."

The SRS has denied that it signed an open letter sent to President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic by "the Patriotic Front."

The radicals would never sign or support any act in agreement with the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS] and the League of Communists whom they hold responsible for "betrayal of Serb national interests and the surrender of ancestral Serb territories," the statement says.

Serb TV Extends Broadcasts to Mostar, Konjic

LD1510170195 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After work on the Cepala transmitter in Trgovo has been completed the area of Nevesinje can as of today receive Serb Radio and TV programs after four years of interruption.

Serb Radio and TV engineers have managed to convey via the new transmitter the Serb TV signal to the Serb municipalities of Mostar and Konjic. The people of Nevesinje have so far been able to wacth only Montenegrin and Croatian TV programs, whose reception is the strongest in this area because of powerful transmitters that are directed toward Serb Herzegovina.

Sarajevo Sets Up Radio Station for Banja Luka

AU1710080495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We inform our listeners in the Bosnian Krajina [north-western Bosnia] that the radio station The Voice of the Free Bosnian Krajina-Banja Luka District has begun working. The program of The Voice of Free Bosnian Krajina-Banja Luka District can be heard on 100 mHz on the UHF frequency .

Serbs Order All Stations To Carry Srpski Radio

AU1710213095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Based on the need of full engagement in the defense of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], the Information Ministry has issued the following statement:

On the basis of the law on implementing the law on the media in the state of immediate danger of war [neposredna ratna opasnost] or state of war, information minister Miroslav Toholj today ordered that transmitters at the disposal of local radio stations in Prijedor, Teslic, Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], Gradiska, Prnjavor, and the town of Banja Luka, as well as [word indistinct] and other radio stations with frequencies that have already been approved or are being approved now by the ministry of traffic and communications, are to start broadcasting Srpski Radio. In line with the order that is to be carried out by director and editor in chief of Srpski Radio and Television, i.e. Srpski Radio, directors and editors in chief of local radio stations, the order is to be implemented by midnight on 14 October.

Captured Serb TV Journalists Killed by Muslims

LD1810134995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 18 Oct (SRNA)—Sasa Kolevski and Goran Pajcinovic, two Serb TV journalists from the Banja Luka studio, who were captured while on duty on Mt. Ozren on 23 September, have been killed in a Muslim-run prison.

This was confirmed by the Muslim side at a meeting between the Serb and Muslim commissions for the exchange of pows at Sarajevo Airport yesterday.

Captain Dragan Bulajic, chairman of the Serb Republic state commission for the exchange of pows, told SRNA that the bodies of the killed Serb journalists will soon be handed over to their families.

Army Uncovering New Mass Graves in Sanski Most

AU1810163395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Every day, our defenders are uncovering fresh mass graves, new places of execution of massacred and murdered [words indistinct] Bosniaks. Today, 18 October, the inhabitants of Sanski Most, those who have returned to the town and those who stayed and lived through all the suffering, bade their last farewells to 86 fellow citizens whose bodies have been identified. They were found in mass graves in the region of [names indistinct], Palanka, Sehovici, (?Tiv), Okret, Kamengrad.

It is suspected that another 300 murdered people are still in mass graves [words indistinct] whose identification is in progress. Witnesses who have survived are talking about everything that happened in an attempt to describe the Bosniaks' suffering. The chetniks in [name indistinct] massacred 11 citizens, in Sehovici 14; another 10 dismembered corpses have been found in a house in the town, killed with bombs and Zolja portable rocket launchers by a certain Lazo, a military policemen, a member of the so-called chetnik 6th Sana Krajina brigade.

In Vrhpolje, some 500 citizens were killed on the bridge, that is, the chetniks shot them as they leaped into the river. [Words indistinct] when our defenders were advancing toward Sanski Most. Another grave was found near (?Lusti Palanka); the number of people in it has not been established yet, as this is simply impossible. The situation is the same in the (?Kametan) mine. Everything in [name indistinct] has been razed to the ground and the number of casualties is impossible to assess. [passage indistinct]

These bestial chetnik crimes remain as a warning. Every day in Sanski Most, fresh mass graves are being uncovered.

Human Rights Group Views UN Role in Srebrenica

AU0910170495 Paris AFP in English 1611 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 10 (AFP)—UN peacekeeping forces failed to protect the Bosnian "safe area" of Srebrenica, and then its field commanders hid or destroyed evidence to cover up the extent of that failure, according to a rights group.

Human Rights Watch, which issued the report Tuesday, warned against bargaining away prosecution of those responsible for a massacre there as part of an eventual peace agreement in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It also called for an investigation into the role of Dutch and UN officials, both civilian and military, for their role in the failure to defend the safe area.

Srebrenica fell on July 11 despite the presence of Dutch peacekeepers in the mainly Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia. About 8,000 Bosnians from the town are missing, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"Men fleeing the enclave through Bosnian Serb-controlled territory, most of them unarmed, were ambushed, killed outright or captured and held for execution," the group said in a statement.

"A handful of survivors of these atrocities have identified locations and sites of mass executions where hundreds—and possibly thousands—of noncombatants were slaughtered," the group said.

Dutch peacekeepers later told newspapers in the Netherlands that they had seen Bosnian men led away, heard shots and then found bodies.

"The UN Bosnia peacekeeping force UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]/UNPF [expansion not known] consistently mishandled the crisis—from the craven decisions of its field commanders prior to the fall of Srebrenica, to its apparent suppression and destruction of evidence of massive human rights abuses," Human Rights Watch said.

Its recommendations included requiring Bosnian Serb authorities to identify the victims from Srebrenica, allow aid groups access to detainees, allow forensics experts access to mass graves and publicize the names of Bosnian Serb military and political leaders linked to the atrocities in Srebrenica.

The UN Security Council declared Srebrenica a safe area in May 1993, along with Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihac, Tuzla and Zepa. Zepa fell two weeks after Srebrenica.

Asked about the criticism, spokesman Philip Arnold at UN headquarters here said that the safe areas were never actually defended by the UN troops there, but dependent on Bosnian Serb agreement to survive.

"It (Srebrenica) fell because it was never defended by more than 150 troops," he said.

In August, under pressure from the United States, the United Nations requested access to a site where photographic evidence indicated that thousands of people may have been buried. That permission has never been granted.

"But we continue to ask for, insist upon, demand access to the Srebrenica area so we can carry out our own investigation," he said.

Refugee Children To Stay at Russian Resort

LD1610162895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 16 (TANJUG)—A group of 200 children refugees from the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina on Monday left Belgrade for Russia, at the invitation of the Russian Government, to stay in a Black Sea resort until Nov. 6.

The group is accompanied by Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina and a group of teachers.

The Russian Federation's Ministry for Urgent Interventions and the Serbian Commisseriat for Refugees have agreed that a total of 5,000 children refugees from the Serb Republic and Serb Krajina would stay in Black Sea resorts.

Cooperation Between 'Federal' Forces Viewed

AU1910121795 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 95 p 5

[Commentary by Sasa Rukavina: "Time of Pause and Wisdom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the first data available, the cease-fire that started on Thursday has been mostly respected. It is still early to judge whether it is really a wish to give the politicians those 60 days to find a solution, or whether it is only a break after the fierce battles of the last 10 days or so. Therefore the caution on the front lines is high, and the fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina do not relax: They are ready for all "defensive actions," as defined in the statement from the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, in which the term for the beginning of the cease-fire was announced.

It is hard to say how far politicians will succeed in using the time before them. The words of Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Bosnian-Herzegovinian Foreign Minister, are indicative when he says that it seems to him that "we are still not ready for serious talks," uttered only a couple of hours before the beginning of the cease-fire, however, the negotiators have some 20 days before the first meeting and perhaps they are preparing themselves for it. During that period there are big tasks for the soldiers. One has to secure what one has liberated, that is, the chetniks have to prepare themselves to defend the rest of what they have.

"Neat Withdrawal"

The retired Croatian General Karl Gorinsek has recently drawn attention to an interesting trifle from the latest battles: "In a relatively neat withdrawal of the Serb units toward Prijedor and Banja Luka there has been some kind of plan that is hard to detect in the euphoria of all kinds of news from the battlefield." A part of that "neat withdrawal" one could see on BBC footage from and around Mrkonjic Grad before the arrival of the liberators. Gorinsek assumes that this fact represents Mladic's intention to shorten the chetnik defense lines, but: "That, too, is only one of the stages in the further withdrawal toward the east."

Translated: It is again the naked truth that in the case of the collapse of this peace initiative, too, without the active involvement of Serbia in the war, Mladic and Karadzic are not capable of long term military resistance in the territories to the west of the Posavina corridor. Well shaken by mutual conflicts, worried by NATO air strikes, plain and simply hungry, Mladic's troops face the even stronger and increasingly motivated Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and really strong Croatian forces. An illustration: The question is, what would have happened in 1991, if there had been a Croatian Mi-24 armored combat helicopter flying over Vukovar, as it flew over Mrkonjic Grad the other day!

So, in fact, Mladic has a maximum of two months to pull himself together and to try to establish the defense line from Bosanski Novi, through Prijedor, to Banja Luka and Skender Vakuf. Or to go to Belgrade again and to look at Milosevic's maps: Will the leader voluntarily return some of the territories to the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Recently, their ideologist, academician Mihajlo Markovic, has repeated the idea of eastern Slavonia as the place where the Serbs from Croatia should live, and as the place that should not be reintegrated into Croatia. Bosnia-Herzegovina has not been mentioned in that story at all, and those are "strategic interests of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia..."

It Is Necessary To Strengthen Links

One more subject to think about in Pale...But...that is their problem. The other kind of problem is what the federal politicians should do now. The two months that separate us from the possible continuation of the war should be, or must be, used for as fast as possible a development of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although the troops are cooperating well, that is not enough. Specifically: Mrkonjic Grad has been liberated by the joint forces of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the west, and Croatian forces from south and east. But only the checkerboard flag waves in that town.

Even if such good military cooperation of the partners in the Federation continues, it will constantly be overshadowed by a real danger of different interests. In concrete terms: A section of the road from central Bosnia toward Bihac, from before Jajce to after Mrkonjic Grad, is under the control of the HV(O) [Croatian Army or Defense Council]. These forces, simultaneously, form a kind of spearhead wedge between the forces of the 5th and 7th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the relationship in the Federation does not rise to a higher level, that could represent a big brake to the possible continuation of the war.

It does not necessarily have to come to a real conflict between the Bosniak and the Croatian units: It suffices that the West put pressure on Tudjman again, or that he, for other reasons, prevent the Croatian forces from repeating the events from two, three weeks ago, when General Dudakovic had to slow down his operations significantly because his lines were too stretched. If there had been a possibility of transferring forces from central Bosnia, perhaps Sanski Most could have been liberated earlier. In fact the Croats barely let pass the necessary reinforcements that were to stop the chetnik counteroffensive toward the town of Kljuc...

That simply must be solved before the cease-fire expires! Perhaps the establishment of the Federal civilian authorities can wait, perhaps the return of the Bosniak from Jajce can be postponed, perhaps one can eternally occupy a seat at the same table and talk about politics. But, if we want to create conditions for the military, if necessary, to successfully resume their job in two months' time: The question of communications has to be removed from the agenda! Successfully, of course.

Approaching Peace

"Bosnia is approaching peace," Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister said in his hitherto most optimistic statement on the destiny of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the first day of the cease-fire, BH PRESS [Bosnian news agency] reported.

"I am a lot less pessimistic than hitherto. There is good reason for me to believe that we are approaching peace in Bosnia," Silajdzic said after the talks on the reconstruction plans of the country devastated by war with the main officials of the European Union in Brussels.

Tudjman Threatens To Seize Srem-Baranja Area

LD1810211995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2015 GMT 18 Oct 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 18 (TANJUG) — Croatian President Franjo Tudjman threatened on Wednesday again to seize the Srem-Baranja area (Sector East), the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina which is not under Croatian occupation.

The Croatian Army seized Sector West in May and Sectors South and North in an aggression mounted in August. Several thousand Serbs were killed and over 250,000 driven from their homes in the Croatian aggressions.

During a meeting with visiting Hungarian Premier Gyula Horn, Tudjman said that he wanted the Srem-Baranja area to be peacefully reintegrated to avoid [word indistinct] human losses and a new flight of the civilian population but said that if that was not possible Croatia would be forced to take all necessary steps.

The U.N. Security Council on Tuesday asked U.N. officials to urgently provide information on the movement and regrouping of Croatian troops towards the Srem-Baranja are because a number of [word indistinct]. Security Council members have expressed fear that Croatia was making preparations for an aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned on Tuesday Croatia against attacking the Srem-Baranja area saying it would jeopardize Croatia's integration into western institutions.

Horn said in Zagreb on Wednesday that the current phase of peace talks was crucial and that it was necessary to use all diplomatic and economic means to achieve peace.

Horn, who arrived in Zagreb on Wednesday, also conferred with Croatian Premier nikica Valentic on the promotion of cooperation between their countries.

The premier of Hungary, whose country currently presides over the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, is expected in Belgrade on Friday.

Western Expert Predicts Attack

AU1910152395 Paris AFP in English 1503 GMT 19 Oct 95

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Oct 19 (AFP) — U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke, continuing a drive to bring peace to the Balkans, on Thursday [19 October] said he had "important assurances" from Croatia that it will refrain from attacking the last Serb-held land in the country, at least for now. [passage omitted]

A western military expert said here Wednesday that outside observers believe Tudjman plans to invade Eastern Slavonia after legislative elections on October 29 and a visit to the United States for the peace talks in the first week of November.

"There's going to be an attack on sector east.

"Negotiations are going to fail. But there is no sign the attack is imminent," he said. [passage omitted]

Serbs Ready To Talk 16 Oct

LD1610195695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Erdut, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Milanovic, the head of the negotiating team of the Srem and Baranja region, said after talks with international mediators Thorvald Stoltenberg and Peter Galbraith today that the Serb side had confirmed its readiness to continue negotiations with Croatia.

He added that Serb negotiators offered to Stoltenberg and Galbraith a number of dates and venues for the continuation of the talks that had been interrupted in Zagreb last Monday.

The mediators are going to present these proposals to the Croatian side; it should be known by tomorrow when and where the two delegations will again sit at the negotiating table.

"Unlike the Croatian side, our side attaches much more importance to what we are going to talk about than where the talks will take place. By willfully determining the time and place for the continuation of negotiations, Croatia obviously wanted to interrupt them again and then shift the blame onto the Serb side," Milanovic said. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question as to how the Serb side viewed the latest Croatian demands that NATO soldiers should replace UN troops in the Srem and Baranja region, Milanovic said that the Serb position remained unchanged in this respect — members of the Russian and Belgian battalions, which are under UN command, should remain there.

"Whether their number will be different is a matter that will be assessed separately, but they should remain here," Milanovic said.

Unlike on previous occasions when talks were held in Erdut Castle, Stoltenberg and Galbraith today had talks with the Serb delegation in the sector east command.

They left Erdut without making the customary press statements.

Foreign Minister Rejects Reintegration with Serbia

AU1810132695 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Mate Piskor; place and date not given: "We Promised a Lot and We Delivered a Lot"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

On Good Terms With Neighbors

[Piskor] In an interview a year ago, you said that you would gladly meet with the Serbian foreign minister in order to sign a document on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Croatia and Serbia. Do you still hold that view?

[Granic] Serbia needs to fulfill many conditions for us to normalize relations, let alone establish diplomatic relations. However, I would gladly do what I stated a year ago if the establishment of relations with Serbia would mean that Serbia has recognized Croatia within its internationally recognized borders, that it has renounced Greater Serbian aspirations toward Croatian areas, that all issues pertaining to missing and captured persons have been solved, and that the issue of succession to the former state, war reparations, and other things had been settled.

[Piskor] Do you have only good-neighborly relations in mind or something else?

[Granic] You are probably alluding to various international speculations about unions, associations, and federations of states in the region south of Slovenia and north of Greece. Nothing will come of this; Croatia has waited for its freedom and independence for a very long time, the Croats have paid dearly for their state and any union, association, or federation is out of the question. Cooperation, good relations, and economic links, yes, but any kind of state association with anyone is definitely out.

Actually, I do not really think that anyone seriously believes that we could agree to such proposals, to a new state association with Serbia. Such ideas are always dragged out of the rubbish heap of history prior to important negotiations in order to pressure Croatia and weaken its negotiating position.

[Piskor] And now we await the summit in Washington.

[Granic] Yes, the Washington summit awaits us, at which we shall have important and extremely difficult negotiations on peace and a final solution primarily for the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and subsequently Croatia, which has actually already transcended the crisis.

There Will Be No Large-Scale War in Bosnia-Herzegovina

[Piskor] How realistic is the assumption, supported by the United States, that peace will soon come to Bosnia-Herzegovina even though the war is still raging there?

[Granic] It will be a long time before final peace is achieved. However, the cease-fire agreement should be taken seriously, as should the world's decisiveness to see peace achieved. That is why we can now say with certainty that there will be no large-scale war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There may be minor skirmishes and moving of front lines, but there will be no large-scale conflicts. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is, therefore, drawing to a close.

[Piskor] What will relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina be in the future?

[Granic] We should not delve too deeply into the past, but we need to stress that Croatia supported the referendum on the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it accommodated hundreds of thousands of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was the first to appoint an ambassador to Sarajevo, and it lent a hand to the Bosniaks in their most difficult moments. I have the Serb occupation of Srebrenica and Zepa in mind, and constant attacks on Gorazde and Bihac. The Split Declaration, signed by Presidents Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Zubak on the basis of the Washington Agreement, opened the way for operations Summer, Storm, and Mistral, which led to the liberation of a great part of Croatia, a good deal of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the lifting of the Bihac blockade. These are the foundations on which future relations need to be developed because they guarantee the survival of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, protect Croatia's strategic interests, and guarantee the survival, security, and strategic interests of the Bosniak people.

Piran Bay—International Arbitrage

[Piskor] Since you have already elaborated on relations with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, could you briefly assess the development of relations between Croatia and Slovenia?

[Granic] We want to have good relations with Slovenia. Almost all controversial issues are about to be solved, except for the demarcation in Piran Bay and the Ljubljanska Banka debts. The Slovenes are linking these two problems, one is a condition for the solution of the other and vice versa. As for Piran Bay, Croatia is ready to accept international arbitrage to solve the dispute. In fact, we believe that this would be best.

[Piskor] Are we to expect similar international arbitrage regarding a solution to Prevlaka?

[Granic] There are no similarities; there are no unclear points and there is no need for international arbitrage. The border is clear. Prevlaka has always been and will always be Croatian.

Free and Safe by Christmas

[Piskor] But everything will be irrelevant if there is no peace, if Dubrovnik is not safe, protected from Chetnik attacks. Can you make such an electoral promise to the citizens of Dubrovnik?

Very soon, before Christmas, Dubrovnik and the Dubrovnik area will have safety and peace. This is not an empty electoral promise, this is reality; you are well aware that I have never made promises or flaunted dates for which I did not believe that they could be realistically fulfilled. Peace will come to all of Croatia very, very soon. Croatia will be free and we shall invest all our strength into reconstruction, construction, increase of production, and the creation of a better and wealthier life.

[Piskor] Does this mean that you have guarantees that the Serbs from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem will accept peaceful reintegration into the Croatian constitutional and legal order?

[Granic] I did not say that. I said that very soon, by Christmas, Croatia would be a free and safe country. Everything implies that the still occupied parts of Croatia will be reintegrated peacefully. However, we shall not allow the buying of time. We have made it clear to the Serbs and the entire international community that our patience will run out with the expiration of the UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia mandate. The world and the Serbs have received this clear Croatian message and, unless the rebel Serbs do not agree to an agreement on peaceful reintegration by 30 November, no one will be able to dispute the legitimacy of using other means to reintegrate the occupied Croatian areas.

Since you have asked about the negotiations, many factors indicate that the negotiations will succeed and that integration will be implemented peacefully.

Hungary's Horn: Peace Process at 'Crucial Phase'

LD1810192495 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today Prime Minister Gyula Horn visited Zagreb. [passage omitted]

After the official program, Gyula Horn told the Newsreel program that the Croatian side welcomes the fact that he will be holding talks with the Belgrade government the day after tomorrow.

[Begin Horn recording] It does not mean a mediating role. However, it must be made clear that the establishment of peace has reached a crucial phase, as the Croatian prime minister also noted. They have never been so close to a peace agreement as they are now. The situation, however, is very delicate despite all this. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Government Acts To Uncover Abuses Against Serbs

AU1810184395 Paris AFP in English 1833 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Oct 18 (AFP)—Croatia unveiled some progress Wednesday [18 October] in investigations into a wave of atrocities against Krajina Serbs since its forces retook the territory, as US human right envoy John Shattuck visited the scene of one of the grim crimes.

In the first official figures released on the widely-condemned atrocities, Deputy Interior Minister Marijan Benko said 41 Serb civilians had been killed since Croatian forces rolled into the territory in August, reconquering the region which had been held by rebel Serbs since 1991.

Twenty-five of the 41 murder cases had been solved and a total of 13 suspects were in police custody, Benko said.

The latest breakthrough was the arrest of four Croatians suspected of involvement in the murder of elderly Serb civilians in a village southwest of Knin, the former rebel stronghold, he added.

Shattuck — eager to sustain US pressure on Croatia for progress on human rights — visited the village, Varivode, where the bodies of nine elderly civilians were discovered in early October. They were believed to have been killed several days earlier.

Benko said three of the four Croatians suspected of involvement in the atrocity were being held in the port town of Zadar. [passage omitted]

Official Media Said Concealing Atrocities

AU1810130095 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Sanja Modric: "The Ratting of Facts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The biggest problems that Donji Lapac is facing are that water is brought in in cisterns, that the stores are closed, and that there are no newsstands. However, there is electricity, and two phone booths have been opened. It is now very important to establish management boards in the Donji Lapac companies and save the facilities from falling apart. With minor interventions, the production of California trout may be resumed. Croats expelled from Banja Luka, Travnik, and Vares are moving into Donji Lapac. They praise the army and the police, who have organized accommodation for them.

These are the precise words recently used by VECERNJI LIST in a report—from the ground—on the situation in Donji Lapac. The daily also published four very lovely photographs next to the report, the title of which was "The New Life of Donji Lapac". One of the photographs shows a happy family with a new baby in front of a beautiful white house. The second shows a well-preserved three-storey house and three men who have moved in from Kraljeva Sutjeska. Then there is an old lady pouring water from a cistern, and, finally, a neat picture of Donji Lapac cemetery. HINA must have visited Donji Lapac the same day and for the same reason. VJESNIK reported what the agency noted down in Donji Lapac in an article called "Infrastructure Being Repaired," but there were no photographs.

The Delusion

The main message in both of the above mentioned reports is that, while, naturally, there are problems in the liberated area of Donji Lapac, problems that are a consequence of the war and the long occupation, they are by no means unsolvable; revitalization is taking its course and things will soon get better. Why is it that we are dealing with it here then? Because when we were on an assignment two weeks ago we saw with our own eyes that Donji Lapac had been completely and thoroughly turned into a horrible site of fire. The people who used to live there (99 percent of them were Serbs, according to the 1991 census) have left, the houses are burnt. Therefore, Donji Lapac no longer exists. However, the many readers of the above mentioned reports on Donji Lapac do not know that, and there is no way they can know. The so-called state-forming media, which, correctly translated, reads the media spokesmen of the Croatian authorities, are deliberately deluding the Croatian public. Unfortunately, the example of Donji Lapac is not an isolated case. What is one to call the unusual—to say the least—journalistic act in which two of the very few houses that have remained untouched were chosen to be photographed when the entire town is completely charred? What is one to call the ratting of facts in the above mentioned reports, after which the readers are sold what no one ever buys newspapers for? We may call the above various names, but the end result is the same: deceit, a lie, or delusion.

The Varnishing

The day before yesterday the announcer on the Croatian Television Daily News stated that the Croatian public is embittered by the serious worldwide accusations against Croatia in which the bodies of constitutional order are being called to account for not having prevented mass post-Storm plundering, destruction, and burning of property in the liberated areas, as well as the mistreatment and killing of the remaining Serb civilians. However, if reports like the ones described above can appear in the most powerful Croatian media, then the kind of biterness the announcer was talking about is quite natural. If the public were presented with the truth instead of the propaganda and varnished stories about the situation in the liberated areas, they would probably direct their bitterness in the same way the international institutions have, which is, by the nature of things, at the Croatian authorities. However, when the problem of Donji Lapac is reduced to the setting up of kiosks and the production of California trout, while the fact that the town has been thoroughly destroyed and burnt—since there were neither chetniks nor ordinary Serbs there—then all we can feel is paranoia about allegedly inimical foreign observers, bitterness because allegedly everybody hates us, and indignation towards that allegedly inimical environment.

It is precisely this kind of totalitarian paranoia that the Croatian leadership wants to induce, which is the reason "its" media write about Donji Lapac the way they do. If the authorities had wanted to, they could have prevented the crimes on the liberated territory, but they did not. On the contrary, it is hard to deny credibility to the suspicions expressed by international observers, who say that certain parts of Croatia through which the Storm passed are devastated in too systematic and neat a way for it to be called a coincidence.

If there had been willingness for things to turn out differently, the Army would have had to have strict orders and commanders that would have neatly led them through at the risk of their own personal responsibility. Police should have followed the Army into the liberated areas, having the same kind of orders and authority, while civilians should not have been allowed into villages before a rudimentary form of civilian authority had been established. A Croatian Army soldier who took part in "Operation Storm" told us that as they were entering the first village their commander told the unit that all they could take from the abandoned houses was "some water, an apple, and that is it." The officer threatened to deal with anyone who did not stick to the order. There was no disobedience. Things are, in fact, very simple, are they not? Incidents would still have taken place, as is the case in any such situation, but the scope of destruction in the liberated territory makes the term "incident" absolutely inappropriate.

The Phantom

Someone must be responsible for all this. In order for people not to realize who it is, the president of the state is even prepared to point his finger at "the 120,000 refugees who stormed into the liberated areas." Since the issue are 120,000 people, there is no one else that can be held responsible but a metaphysical phantom of general frustration, the drive for revenge, and the hunger of selfishness. The idea is nice, but who is really going to believe it?

The UN and EU investigation teams are just presenting to us their separate, meticulous reports that say that village by village, day by day, they found Croatian Army forces and civilians taking away other people's property and using steel gas bottles to set houses on fire. They also bumped into decapitated corpses of old people shot in the back of the neck, their throats cut. The world media, from THE GUARDIAN to CNN, have been talking about Croat crimes in Varivode and various other places. After our authorities did not do what they should have done, and did what they should not have done, they are now making us all a nation of criminals and incendiaries. If we are all responsible, nobody is responsible. Those who are grotesquely touching up the burnt-down Donji Lapac before the Croatian public are not doing so because they have no eyes, but in order for all of us to be responsible in the future. And we indeed will be, if we are silent.

Envoy To Ukraine Urges 'Mutual Recognition'

AU1810125895 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 13 Oct 95 p 6

[Interview with Djuro Vidmarovic, Croatian ambassador to Ukraine, by HOLOS UKRAYINY correspondent Anatoliy Martsynovskyy; place and date not given: "We Only Want Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In less than one month, on 9 and 10 November, Mate Granic, Croatian vice prime minister and foreign minister, will be in Ukraine on an official visit. An event, significant for both countries, will take place: initialing the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation. Meanwhile, here are several questions for Mr. Djuro Vidmarovic, Croatian ambassador to Ukraine.*

[Martsynovskyy] Mr. Ambassador, how do you assess the level of relations between Ukraine and Croatia?

[Vidmarovic] Let me recall that the tone to our relations was set in 1991 during Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's working visit to Kiev. At that time, the sides adopted a joint communique and signed an Agreement on Economic Cooperation. Unfortunately, economic ties are not developing in the way we would like. However, economic ties are strong and stable. The Croatian parliament (Sabor) recognized Ukraine's independence as early as on 5 December 1991, and Ukraine's Supreme Council recognized Croatian independence a week later. Incidentally, Ukraine was the first among UN member states to do this. In February 1992, our countries established diplomatic relations.

[Martsynovskyy] Doesn't it seem to you that the strong partnership between Kiev and Zagreb is largely due to similar ties between Belgrade and Moscow?

[Vidmarovic] Croatia strives to establish good relations with all countries that have recognized its independence and territorial integrity. We do not want to build any special ties to counterbalance others. The Russian Federation is a quite influential state in the world community. Even though one can now see that Moscow pursues a policy that is somewhat better disposed to Serbs than to Croats, we are convinced that the situation will change. We would be very happy if Moscow could conduct the same policy as Kiev regarding events in the former Yugoslavia. Your country's policy is sufficiently unambiguous, firm, and equal with regard to all Balkan countries. Besides, with its peacekeeping contingent within the UN forces, Ukraine helps to maintain peace in our region.

[Martsynovskyy] However, the Croatian leadership has repeatedly made rather critical statements on the presence of UN troops on its territory....

[Vidmarovic] The government of my country never had any complaints about the behavior or presence in Croatia of Ukrainian peacekeepers or peacekeeping forces in general. We express our sincere condolences to families of the Ukrainian soldiers who perished in Croatia. The presence of UN forces on the territory of my country is due to the occupation of a part of it. Croatia would like to solve the problem by peaceful means. If the present negotiations culminate in precisely this, then the presence of UN forces in Croatia will be fully justified.

[Martsynovskyy] Ukraine is losing much because of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. How does Croatia see resolution of this problem?

[Vidmarovic] We understand Ukraine. Croatia itself sustains great losses because of the sanctions. We agree that sanctions against the FRY must be lifted—of course, on certain terms. This means that, first, occupied territories must be peacefully returned to Croatia. Second, it is necessary that the states of the former Yugoslavia mutually recognize one another within their borders recognized by the world community. In other words, one courageous step on the part of Belgrade would resolve the problem of sanctions.

No 'Future Privileges' To Be Gotten From EU

MS1910104495 London INDEPENDENT in English 19 Oct 95 p 14

[Report by Michael Sheridan: "Croatia's Claims Rebuffed by EU"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The European Union has rebuffed Croatia by deciding it will receive no future privileges in its dealings with the EU but will be treated the same as other "successor states" to the former Yugoslavia under new "Balkan agreements" with Brussels.

It is a sign that Croatia's human rights violations and authoritarianism have ruined its aspirations to advance towards EU membership ahead of any rival Balkans states. It will cast a shadow over the campaign by President Franjo Tudjman's "free-market" HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] party for elections on 29 October.

EU-Croatia talks on a trade and co-operation deal were frozen after the Croatian August offensive against Serb rebels, which boosted Mr Tudjman's popularity. The conquest was followed by accounts of looting and murders of Serb civilians. International efforts are now under way to persuade the Croatian leadership to desist from an attack on the Serb redoubt of Eastern Slavonia.

The new policy, formulated in the expectation of an overall peace settlement, is a decisive rejection of Mr Tudjman's assertion that Croatia has a greater claim than its neighbours to represent the values of west European civilisation. It is not clear whether Germany and Austria, Croatia's closest friends in the EU, will continue to argue that Zagreb should receive better treatment than Belgrade or Sarajevo. That argument has already met high-level opposition from negotiators who believe that, unless the EU takes a collective approach, each Balkan state will try to advance itself and block its rivals, creating new tensions.

European Union leaders have therefore been urged to evolve a common set of framework agreements with all the states south of Slovenia and north of Greece. They are: Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia (in its Muslim-Croat and Serb constituents), Albania and Macedonia. The aim is to avoid any impression the old Yugoslavia is being recreated.

Sites for Power Plants, Radioactive Waste Viewed

AU1810132195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 95 p 12

[Article by Zeljko Buksa: "Locations for New Power Plants and Radioactive Waste"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—"In two or three months we expect the experts of the Zoning Institute to propose several potential locations for new thermoelectric plants that would use gas and imported coal, and for nuclear plants and permanent depots for radioactive waste, which would then be included in the Zoning Plan of Croatia. But that does not mean that such installations will be built on all the locations reserved for that purpose," Kazimir Vrankic from the Croatian Electricity Distribution Company said on Friday at a press conference of the Agency for Special Waste (APO).

"The names of the locations will be made public only after verification by experts," Mr. Subasic, director of the Agency for Special Waste, added, saying also that several potential locations for permanent depots for radioactive waste will be chosen by experts from among eight already selected areas that are best suited for the purpose.

Vladimir Kramberger, deputy minister of economy for energy, said that on the technical level there were no more important problems with the Slovene side concerning the Krsko nuclear plant, and, among other things, that it had been agreed that until the year 2002 the two countries that own the plant [Slovenia and Croatia] should set a location and prepare construction of a permanent depot for radioactive waste, which should be finished by 2007. There is also a possibility that one state or even one municipality take all the money intended for that purpose, if they agree to take over the entire nuclear waste. The money for that purpose will be collected from the production price of electricity, and saved in the already founded Slovene fund for the taking apart of the nuclear plant, and disposal of the radioactive waste and used fuel. If there are no interested parties, each of the two states will get half of the money, but also half of the radioactive waste.

That possibility was probably the reason for the Slovene Agency for Special Waste to decide to start a public competition for all places interested in such an installation.

Kramberger warned that Croatia needs such a depot even without the waste from the nuclear plant, because radioactive waste is also produced in hospitals, various institutes and elsewhere. Besides, as he added, in Croatia there are already many locations with unregulated depots of such waste.

Doctors Pronounce Gligorov Fit To Leave Hospital

AU1910134695 Paris AFP in English 1211 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Oct 19 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov, who was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt earlier this month, is in a good state of health and is to leave the hospital, his doctors said Thursday [19 October].

Gligorov, 78, is "stable and authorised to continue treatment at home," said a medical statement published Thursday.

However, the statement did not specify when the president would leave the Skopje surgical clinic, where he underwent an operation to remove a clot on his brain, following a car bomb attack in the Macedonian capital on October 3.

Later Thursday, Gligorov was expected to hold talks with UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi—his first meeting with a foreign official since the assassination attempt.

The meeting was expected to take place at the Skopje surgical clinic.

According to a medical source, Gligorov is to be moved to a villa in a Skopje suburb, where he will be provided with permanent medical care and undergo rehabilitation exercises. [passage omitted]

Council Assesses Security Situation as 'Stable'

AU1910100995 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Security Council of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] held a session yesterday, which was presided over by Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov. The session focused on the current political-security situation in the Republic of Macedonia, which was described as stable, with normal functions of the system.

The Council was also informed about the course of the investigation into the recent assassination attempt on the President of the Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov, is said in the announcement of the cabinet of the president of Macedonia.

Crvenkovski Urges Approval of Greek Accord

AU1010170995 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 10 Oct 95 pp 3-4

[Report by Gj. Risteski and V.V. Adzigova on Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's address to the Assembly on 9 October for the ratification of the Interim Accord signed with Greece: "We Got Over the Most Difficult Phase"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of his introductory speech, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski stressed the "three factors that represent historic constants and on which the formation of the state depends, to a smaller or greater extent, throughout history." In his opinion, these three factors are the internal factor, the aspirations of the neighbors and their interests, and the interests of the superpowers. The aggregate of all these different reasons gives the answer to the question "Why did the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] people not succeed in creating their own state at the time when the other Balkan nations did so?"

Completed Platform

Prime Minister Crvenkovski mentioned that historic moments in which there is a satisfactory correlation among these factors do not happen every year, or every ten years. He stressed that the "beginning of this decade created a totally new global ambience, in which totally new mutual relations in the former Yugoslav community were formed. Another historic moment then happened, which, on the one hand was a big chance, but it would have represented a great risk if the wrong way had been chosen."

"The basic characteristic in all this period is the awareness, the maturity, the determination, and the decisiveness of the great majority of the main current of the Macedonian people and citizens living in the Republic of Macedonia, which resulted in a clearly completed political platform. The basic strategic goals were the creation of an independent and internationally recognized state, the association of the Republic of Macedonia into the European institutions, the projection of a democratic, politically stable, and economically prosperous state, and the maintenance of peace and national identity," Prime Minister Crvenkovski emphasized.

Talking about the road that was chosen for the accomplishment of the mentioned goals, he pointed out that it is based on the construction of the Republic of Macedonia as a state with a civil constitutional concept, on the constant and patient reaffirmation of the political and economic system of the Republic of Macedonia, the development of the principles of coexistence and interethnic tolerance, respect and appreciation, as well as on showing good will and cooperating with all neighbors.

In explaining his need to make this introduction before the discussions on the ratification of the Macedonian-

Greek Interim Accord take place, Prime Minister Crvenkovski stressed:

"I did this because I believe that this Accord should not only be treated as an act in itself, but that we should always keep in mind the historic context of the events, taking into account that this step is just a small piece of the complex mosaic of a fully completed political platform with clearly defined and precise goals and methodology. This political platform, which was promoted three to four years ago, has been constantly supported by the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia and it passed the test in front of the best judge. Since the very beginning, this platform has been confronted by political concepts that were partly wrong but greatly damaging and directed against the national interests of the Macedonian people and the future of the Republic of Macedonia in general."

Further on, Crvenkovski spoke about those political forces that challenge the accepted approach. He mentioned the referendum, the adoption of the constitution, the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from the country, the rebuff of the Lisbon Declaration of the European Community, the accession of Macedonia to the United Nations. All these results were interpreted by the opposing political concepts as defeats or treasons.

"Two and a half years have passed, and this is certainly not a long period, but quite sufficient for me to ask: Do we feel to be less Macedonians today, after the accession to the United Nations, or do we have many reasons as a nation and state that has secured its place in the international family to have more dignity in constructing and developing our national identity? Is not our position in defending our constitutional name better now that we are a member of the United Nations, of the Council of Europe, of the IMF, and the World Bank, now that it is just a matter of time when we will become a full member of the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] and Partnership for Peace, now that we have full diplomatic relations with 57 countries, with half of which under our constitutional name? Or does anyone think that the battle for maintaining the constitutional name will be more easily waged if we are an internationally isolated and nondefined territory?" Prime Minister Crvenkovski emphasized.

Regulation of Relations

Speaking about regulation of relations with the neighbors as one of the most important questions for our state, Prime Minister Crvenkovski gave a brief chronology of the positions that Greece had held in relation to the Republic of Macedonia until now. He recalled the economic and the political embargo that was used by Greece as a kind of pressure for the fulfillment of its conditions. Nevertheless, on the other hand, Prime Minister Crvenkovski underlined, "nothing like the embargo has confirmed so strongly the decisiveness and the vitality of our state. We defeated all dire predictions that we would not be able to endure more than three months under such circumstances."

"When there is a dispute between two states, there is no other way for overcoming it but an agreement on finding a solution. Those who claim that there is another way—war—are wrong. Even in case of war, as in the example of Bosnia, it is necessary to sit at a table and negotiate. However, this long road has a much more expensive price. It is measured by hundreds of thousands of lost human lives, by millions of people without a roof over their heads, by destroyed towns," Crvenkovski warned. He added that as a result of the efforts by the two states over the course of a number of months, but also thanks to the valuable mediation of the United Nations and the United States, the accord was signed in New York on 13 September.

"Before we look at the contents of the text of the Interim Accord, we have to be aware of the historic aspect of one extremely important fact." As Crvenkovski emphasized, this fact is that "with this accord the Republic of Greece recognizes the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia. The contents of the accord are the best illustration for opposing speculations which say that this accord changes our constitutional name or the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. It is clear that the name was not a subject of the negotiations or of the accord, and as far as the Constitution is concerned, we are just repeating the articles of international norms on non-interference in internal affairs of other states. The Republic of Greece has recognized our state under a reference that is used in the United Nations, that is FYROM, and this accord and its correct implementation eliminate the possibility for an economic embargo against the Republic of Macedonia now and in the future."

Prime Minister Crvenkovski assessed the adoption of the law on the flag as an expression of sincere will by our side for the implementation of the accord and for full normalization and goodneighborly relations. The accord, in Crvenkovski's opinion, also opens the road to a full regulation of relations with the northern neighbor, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. "Actually, the meeting of President Gligorov and President Milosevic that took place last Monday [2 October] gives us the right to believe that such expectations are real and that they can soon be fulfilled."

Recalling that after the signing of the accord he had stated that one of our most difficult periods is behind us, Crvenkovski noted:

"We succeeded in maintaining peace, in winning the battle for international recognition of the state, and in nearly fully regulating relations with the neighbors. We succeeded in enduring the embargo and the sanctions, in implementing the standby arrangement, which is a verification for the economic reforms, in becoming a member of the Council of Europe, which is a verification for the political reforms. In brief, we succeeded in reaching the exit from the tunnel through which we are passing."

Andov: UN Will Accept 'Constitutional Name'

AU1910101195 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In his speech on the significance of the world organization [in honor of the United Nations 50th anniversary] and its humane and peacekeeping mission throughout the world, Andov said, among the rest:

"I would like to express my conviction that in the interest of its own Charter and in the interest of the peace, stability and protection of the right to self-orientation, the UN will accept our country's constitutional name. Even more so seeing it has proven to be utterly irrational to think it could disturb the security in the region."

Patiently, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has taken the place in the international community that belongs to it naturally, and has never deviated from the policy of dialogue, tolerance and understanding in the relations with its neighbors and the broader international community. As a result, normal relations have been restored with the Republic of Greece, with the benevolent help of the United Nations.

An Interim Accord has been signed between the two countries, and Macedonia has fulfilled its obligations from that accord even before the foreseen period. It has done that in the interest of the two countries and peoples, and in the interest of the peace and stability in the south of the Balkans.

'Illegal' Tetovo University Begins Academic Year

AU1910102095 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The illegal university in Tetovo started its academic year yesterday in a building in the village Mala Recica in Tetovo, where clashes broke out between the police and Albanian citizens on February 17, this year. At the formal ceremony which was attended by the professors Milaim Fejzi, Safedein Haruni, Rahmi Tuda, Ismail Hodza, Masar Kodra, as well as representatives from UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force], the president of the university Fadil Sulejmani informed that 1,254 students have been enrolled, of which half are girls.

He added that 150 professors have been engaged to hold classes in 17 lecture halls. Otherwise, Fadil Sulejmani was tried on charges of inciting citizens to resistance and was sentenced to two and a half years in prison. Sulejmani was released on a bail of 100,000 DEM [Macedonian denars]. Today, NOVA MAKEDONIJA comments that Sulejmani is carrying on with his illegal activities and is encouraging Albanian young people to study at this university which is not recognized by anyone, and where they can easily acquire diplomas that have no validity.

Russian 'Nuclear Blackmail' Seen on NATO Issue

MM1910092895 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 10 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Oskar Filipowicz: "Nuclear Blackmail: Russian Missiles Aimed at Poland? We Shall Pay the Wages of Fear If We Join NATO—Industrial Centers in the Sights—Civil Defense Unprepared"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Katowice, Warsaw—Attempts to deter Poland and the Czech Republic with the threat of nuclear warheads could create a situation in which we ourselves will not want to join NATO. Is that what Russian diplomacy has in mind?

In the times when we were an important link in the Warsaw Treaty, 16 Pershing missiles with nuclear warheads were to fall on our territory within minutes of their launch. Ten of them would have hit the industrial heart of our country: the Upper Silesian Industrial District. The revelations published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA concerning the Russian war doctrine mean that this time around we would find ourselves in the nuclear sights of the marksmen who lie in wait to the east of us.

Let us recall that the Russian daily reported Saturday—attributing its disclosures to a staff officer of the Russian Army—that our accession to NATO would have a detrimental effect on the security of its new members and that missiles carrying nuclear warheads would be aimed at targets in Poland and the Czech Republic.

The missiles that were based in the former West Germany would have been launched, within the framework of the so-called limited nuclear strike, against such targets as, among others, railroad junctions (Lazy, Tarnowskie Gory), and they would also have destroyed our principal industrial centers—that is, the Katowice and Rybnik conurbations, which are the most densely populated areas in Poland—as well as Oswiecim, with its chemical plants. The scenario for a strike from the east would be very similar. But the voivodship civil defense structures in the Katowice region do not have a hypothetical action plan in case of a nuclear strike against our region.

"We are not allowed to forecast what could happen if 'something' were to drop on our voivodship. Our role is to protect the population and eliminate the aftermath of a possible nuclear attack," we were told at the Voivodship Civil Defense Inspectorate. A forecast of the possible consequences of an attack will be forwarded to the Civil Defense units in the event of the institutions involved in external national defense declaring a higher state of combat readiness.

Press leaks concerning the defense doctrine mention the deployment of weapons with a range of 200 km on Russia's western borders in Kaliningrad Oblast and, after the signing of an alliance with Belarus, immediately over the eastern border of the Polish Republic. Intercontinental missiles have not been withdrawn from the area of Lida and, after the Russian-Belarusian rapprochement, they may not be withdrawn at all. "From the military viewpoint, it is of no significance whether the missiles will be deployed 100 or 200 km to the right or to the left. The Saturday press disclosure has a propaganda dimension on which I will not comment," Zdzislaw Czekierda, press spokesman for the Chief of the Polish Army General Staff explained, adding that it is definitely too early for any kind of decisions and that the plans of missile deployment would have to be obtained by asking the Russian side.

"There are no missiles targeted on Poland. We cannot comment on mere conjectures," Major Eugeniusz Mleczak, Ministry of National Defense spokesman, said. He admitted that we are not prepared to fend off such an attack. "Of course, there is the system of early warning and interception to protect us against enemy missiles, but medium-sized states cannot hope to be able to stand up against one of the world's powers all by themselves," Mleczak added. "At most, we can try to make sure that such an attack is not worth launching. Hence our endeavors to build a good security system. All attempts to interfere in the Polish state's moves in this respect will be met with outrage and condemnation on the part of the Polish authorities."

Wilecki Impedes Civilian Rule in Defense Ministry

96P20031A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Oct 95 pp 18-19

[Part II of a serialized article by Wlodzimierz Kalicki, in cooperation with Krzysztof Grybos: "The Hat Under the Four-Cornered Cap" [a reference to the beret worn by the Army]; Part I, published in the 14-15 issue of GAZETA WYBORCZA, will appear in a separate, summarized format]

[Text]

Military Commanders Who Involve Themselves in Politics Harm Both the Military and the Nation's Defense Policy

"A great danger awaits soldiers, sailors, or airmen who desire to play in politics, encroaching into a region where the declared values differ from those to which they have thus far been accustomed." A quote from Winston Churchill in "The Second World War."

For six years now, a battle has been waging between the leadership of the Armed Forces and the politicians concerning the role of the military in the Third Republic: will civilian politicians control the Army or will it be otherwise, with the generals as a permanent feature on the political scene. Ever since General Tadeusz Wilecki took the office of chief of the General Staff, it is the General Staff that has been winning the battle.

Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki took advantage of each [defense] minister in turn to strengthen his personal influences in the Armed Forces. Above all, he succeeded —with help from the Belweder [referring to the presidential residence and the president's circle] as well as politicians of the current governing coalition [SLD and PSL] in blocking the idea of forming a separate command of ground forces, air forces, and navy, which is common in the democratic, Western military. This would reduce the role of general to that of a coordination function. The commanders of three, independent branches of the armed forces would have to have considerable autonomy, at the very least in the personnel and budgetary spheres.

Since 1992, there has been an avalanche of cadre changes in the military. The chief of staff forced through his own cadre ideas. In the military it is frankly said that all key positions in the military districts, in the General Staff, in the military special services, all the way up to the commanders of tactical alliances, were filled by people closely connected with or cooperating with Gen. Wilecki from the time of his student days or during his service in the Silesian Military District. It is also said in the military that for some time the influence of the chief of staff is so great that his proteges are promoted to key positions in the civilian part of the Ministry of Defense (MON). Because of this, which decisions favorable to the chief of staff are made by people who formally represent the civilian MON authorities.

In the military, the one who authorizes promotions has the power. Officers talk about promotions in the military that are viewed as undeserved. A description of such a discretionary officer that was popular in communist times is returning to circulation, namely, that he is passive, mediocre, but faithful [in Polish all three words end in -rny and rhyme]. Higher ranking officers also say that officers close to the chief of staff are promoted faster than others, such as the author of the famous speech delivered by the chief of staff on 14 August at the foot of the statue of Jozef Pilsudski [the speech attacking the government for not providing enough support for the military].

Within the armed forces there is no doubt who is charge of the military.

For three years now, the chief of the General Staff stubbornly has been striving to convert the civilian part of the ministry into a decoration.

He paralyzed the activities of the ministry's civilian departments that maintained contacts with the military through administrative boards, in other words his essential counterparts in the General Staff. Gen. Wilecki made it so that such contacts can occur practically only through his intervention.

The chief of staff began his battle to create his own personnel department in the General Staff even during Minister Onyszkiewicz's tenure in MON. Minister Onyszkiewicz prevented this, but Gen. Wilecki had his own way in the end and controls personnel policy within the Army. The decisive victory for him was during Admiral Kolodziejczyk's second term in office. Wilecki then, without consulting MON's civilian leadership, submitted a proposal for promotion to the general rank in honor of the 11 November holiday. Ministry officials removed several names from Wilecki's proposal, among others participants in the Drawsko affair [referring to the top military leadership vote to dismiss Kolodziejczyk as Defense Minister], and added some of their own suggestions. When, however, this list was delivered to the Belweder, each and every one of the ministry corrections had been deleted by Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski.

Today, the personnel department in MON will not propose any promotions without prior General Staff approval. The promotion proposals are signed by the minister but the decisions are made elsewhere. Such a practice is possible because as regards military matters, all officers are subordinate to the chief of staff as the highest ranking military person. In addition, those who are employed by the civilian departments of the ministry are subordinate to the chief of staff. It is the chief of staff who has the real authority over them, not the minister. The chief of staff can promote them, and can also discipline them. The minister—at the most—can refuse them a bonus.

Gen. Wilecki was unsuccessful in attempts to form a separate financial office in the General Staff. Eventually, however, he brought about such a situation that he is in a position to effectivly exert pressure on the chief of the financial department and on the minister. In the end, the civilian politicians signed a salary increase for the higher cadre at 66 percent and at 13 percent for the lower cadre. In the military there is no doubt who was behind this decision. In June of this year, deputy chief of staff General Leon Komornicki told the senior officers in Szczecin that the raise was due to the efforts of the president and Gen. Wilecki.

The Chief of Staff brought about the withdrawal from the ministry's civilian control not only of the military information services (intelligence and counterintelligence), but also of those services providing information about the mood within the armed forces. The ministry's civilian employees now receive only information selected and prepared by the military structures subordinate to the General Staff.

The chief of staff today exercises control over the entire military educational system—with exception of the National Defense Academy (AON) and on the principle of appropriation, has also taken control over the training system in the armed forces.

Shortly after his appointment, Gen. Wilecki also demanded not simply a press officer whose task it was to relay information to the press, but his own office of press spokesman. Minister Onyszkiewicz did not agree to this; commenting and explaining the position of the military is a purely political activity, which falls exclusively into the civilian, political competences of the MON leadership.

In the end, however, the chief of staff called into being a press office.

Even the civilian editor in chief of the [military daily] POLSKA ZBROJNA proved to be salt in the general's eye. Pressure to fire him had been going on for a long time. The reason: he does not have a feel for the Army.

There is only one position Gen. Wilecki did not have to fight for. In MON's civilian structures, there was lacking from the very beginning a section that decided on the liquidation or creation of positions and posts, including within the civilian part of MON. From the very beginning, the General Staff has this jurisdiction. So, when the minister wants to set up some new structure, he has to request it of the chief of staff.

Formally and legally to this day, none of the prerogatives of the ministry of defense were taken away from him. Theoretically, the minister holds great power in the sphere of national defense and over the military. In practice however, Gen. Wilecki changed the General Staff into a peculiar superministry and became the sovereign prince in the Army.

While sending his subordinates best wishes on the anniversary of Polish Army Day, Gen. Wilecki did not include among the recipients the minister of national defense.

A Politician From a Soldier

By gradually subordinating the armed forces and the ministry of national defense to himself, the chief of the General Staff decided to step into the world of politics. Before the parliamentary elections of 1993, he believed the assurances of Lech Walesa, that the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, formed to suppport Walesa] will gain even as much as 40 percent of the vote. From his side, he offered the president one million votes: 400,000 from career soldiers, civilian employees of the military, and soldiers on active duty, and 300,000 from military pensioners and another 300,000 from their families. Both sides promised each other the Netherlands [a literary reference meaning promising what one cannot deliver]. BBWR got poor results, partially because the military people did not vote according to the wishes of the chief of the General Staff. Even intensive lobbying to regional organizations of the Union of Former Career Soldiers did not help.

BBWR made many attempts to bring the election campaign into the military prior to the elections. Commanders exerted pressure on the officers, that they sign the BBWR candidate lists. Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz opposed this. The revenge of the Belweder was the meeting at Wesola in August 1993.

Onyszkiewicz had planned for it to be a discussion with military commanders. Unexpectedly, the president appeared at the lunch. The scenario was prepared earlier by the chief of the General Staff and the president's people: one after another the generals stood up and criticized the policies of the minister. After a sharp reply by Minister Onyszkiewicz, who accused some of the higher ranking officers of breaking laws during the election campaign, the president assured the generals that even if they were guilty, not one hair would fall from their heads.

Only Gen. Wilecki remained quiet.

The Resignation of the Minister Was Not Demanded—After All, the Elections and a Change of Government Were Coming Up

Onyszkiewicz chose not to reveal the proceedings of the meeting, nor to punish those involved in the incident. He was afraid, which after all the organizers of this meeting had foreseen, that his public protests could be received as a preelection attack on the president's camp. He could not punish the participants of the meeting because he would need the agreement of the president or the cooperation of Gen. Wilecki.

Minister Onyszkiewicz's response, issued just before his departure from MON, was a study and implementation of regulations for the ministry. The regulations unequivocally confirmed the superiority of the civilian factor over the military in the ministry.

Minister of Defense Kolodziejczyk suspended these regulations right at the beginning of his tenure, but despite this and subsequent concessions, awaiting him also was an unexpected meeting with the chief of staff, the generals, and Lech Walesa.

When Minister of Defense Kolodziejczyk yielded to most of the demands of the chief of staff, Gen. Wilecki began to publically disavow him—he organized presidential excursions to military units without the knowledge and approval of the minister, as well as the ceremonial oath-taking [of new soldiers] at Pilsudski Square in Warsaw.

When Minister Kolbdziejczyk decided in September 1994 to reprimand the chief of staff, the time for dinner with the generals had arrived.

The generals were not afraid of anything—after Wesola, promotions rained down on them instead of disciplinary measures.

The dinner at Drawsko went according to the scenario tested at Wesola. At the dinner arranged by the minister of defense to meet with the generals, President Walesa unexpectedly invited himself, this time with his entourage, Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski and Bishop Slawoj Glodz.

The generals, not excluding the chief of staff, voiced their already ritual attacks on the minister. The dinner ended with a vote of confidence by the generals over their minister. Almost all were in favor of his resignation.

The dinner at Drawsko did not end with the immediate dismissal of the chief of staff and the generals attacking the minister, but with the dismissal of Minister Kolodziejczyk, based on a behind-the-scenes agreement between President Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

Gen. Wilecki Triumphed—After the Confrontation With the Minister of Defense, The Minister Had To Step Down

Successes in political battles with his subordinates clearly whetted the appetite of the chief of staff. Already in January 1994, he told high-ranking officers that as "the first soldier of the Republic," he deserves a visible position on the political scene.

The general's moment came in May of this year. The chief of staff clearly calculated that the time of the elections, the time of the inevitable weakening of the power of the minister, the government, the president, was the right moment to feel at home in the political salons. The announcement of a political offensive by the chief of staff was his interview in GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI (2-3 May 1995) in which he asserted that "the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces is a military person, a public person, a political person, and there is no way to move away from this. Why? Because he is a member of the highest authority in the country created to deal with many matters."

After this announcement of a political offensive, his supporters in the military came forward: Generals Leon Komornicki, Julian Lewinski, Janusz Ornatowski, and Edmund Bolociuch. The most prominent speech was given by Gen. Komornicki towards the end of June in Szczecin, but public opinion learned nothing about most of these speeches.

The culmination of Gen. Wilecki's political campaign was the speech he gave on 14 August, at this year's celebration of Polish Army Day. He called politicians who are uneasy about the situation in the armed forces "politicizers" and their statements as "clamorous enunciations." He accused the political elite of irresponsibly ruining the armed forces of the country.

The rather general confusion after this appearance revealed that attention had not been given to the remarks made by the general on previous occasions. He accused journalists of hurting the defense of the nation. He complained about Poland's international obligations, resulting from disarmament treaties signed by Poland; he stated that the Polish negotiators fell short and that the armaments limits imposed on Poland were too low.

It is still not clear exactly what Gen. Wilecki's political goals are.

Gen. Wilecki's military circle makes no attempts to hide the fact that [one of the goals is] certainly Lech Walesa's reelection.

It is not at all excluded that in the long run, Gen. Wilecki dreams of reanimating the political arrangement of the final years of the Second Polish Republic [between the two world wars], when, after the death of Marshal Pilsudski, the Inspector General of the Armed Forces, General Edward Rydz-Smigly, was recognized by virtue of decree of Prime Minister Felicjan Slawoj-Skladkowskiego as the second—after the president and before the prime minister—individual in the country to whom government officials are required to show "honor and obedience." In case of war, the Inspector General and the commander in chief, embodied in one person, did not bear parliamentary responsibility, whereas he had the intrinsic right to give guidance and directives to all prime ministers, ministers, state administrative officials in matters related to national defense. In a modern state, on the other hand, practically everything is tied to defense, from the economy to a stable political life.

Indicative of such plans would be the reanimation of the case from two years ago of Gen. Lewinski—who was considered the political confidant of the chief of staff—the considerations of the usefulness of calling forth a general inspector of the armed forces. And especially, of late, the statement by Gen. Wilecki that he takes full responsibility for the security sphere of the state (to which he does not have, after all, constitutional powers).

And also—the tone of the recent pronouncements of the chief of staff suggesting the political isolation and military threat to the country ("at any moment we can become a country on the front line") and demanding an immediate increase of burdening society for defense goals. It was precisely in an atmosphere of political instability and external threat before the war [World War II] that is was possible to politically emancipate the highest military level, Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly.

Playing With Matches

All of Gen. Wilecki's political actions were concluded successfully. It happened this way because the politicians evaluated Wilecki's movements exclusively in the context of increasing or decreasing the influence of his political rivals. Only a few, seeing beyond the divisions, are able to see the danger to political balance in Poland and to its international position.

Gen. Wilecki's creation of himself into a super minister of national defense and into an important personage on the political stage was also made possible thanks to the indifference and resourcelessness of the Sejm.

The Sejm never rushed to pass the legal regulations which would have resolved the competency issues as regards defense. On the contrary, the majority of parliamentary groups, except the Freedom Union [UW] and the Union of Labor [UP], out of fear of political problems, avoided dealing with the question of civilian control over the Army.

After the Drawsko dinner, the parliamentary commission recognized the fault of the generals and supported the position of Minister Kolodziejczyk, but after his recall, the government coalition only put on a good expression to a bad situation. Deputy Wlodzimierz Cimosiewicz, to whom Admiral Kolodziejczyk, as he himself admits, turned with a request to deal with this matter and assist him, refused.

Nor did the Sejm muster the courage to make any clear moves after the 14 August speech of the chief of staff.

Strictly speaking, parliamentary control over the armed forces does not exist, even though a former prime minister, former minister and deputy minister of defense, and two general secretaries of leading parties occupy seats in the Sejm commision of national defense. Deputies in the defense commission do not have the courage to end the comfortable role played by the advocates of the military's interests. They complain about a basic lack of information about the armed forces, yet the commission did not do much in order to gain access to needed information.

In this situation, even the generals for whom the politicization of the Army becomes less palitable by the day, keep quiet. And there are such people even on the General Staff.

The generals are afraid that if Lech Walesa loses the presidential elections, his successor would start to make order in the military by starting with a wave of dismissals from the service. The departure especially of a career officer from active service is a catastrophe that cannot be compared with a civilian losing the best kind of job.

For the time being, the generals are trying to defend themselves against all azimuths—and they plunge further into politics. It is said that through Bishop General Slawoj Gglodz, they are trying to reach Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz [National Bank of Poland president and independent presidential candidate], and through the mediation especially of former defense minister General Florian Siwicki, they are trying to reach Aleksander Kwasniewski [SLD presidential candidate].

The Officers Are the Most Frustrated by Gen. Wilecki's Political Games

Most of the officers have had enough of the clericalization of the military, are tired of forever having to steer a middle course and guessing whom one should not offend. They want a quiet service with clear criteria for advancement—and this is precisely what is lacking in the Polish military today.

Gen. Wilecki's foray into the political world hurts the defense of the country the most.

Changes in the command structures of the armed forces serve above all the battle over influence. The preoccupation over votes and support of Gen. Wilecki's circle publically questions the need for rapid cadre changes in the armed forces. Although there is at last a just pension plan for retirees, there are still more colonels and lieutenant colonels in our Army than in the Armies of France, Germany and England combined, and more positions for generals than the German and French armies combined. And all of this has a price, and after the recent raises—even more.

Year by Year, The Polish Army's Combat Strength Lessens

The soldiers are undertrained, they are released from service after—it occurs—only 15 months rather than 18 months due to a lack of funding. There is no money for fuel and ammunition, and trained reservists are leaving. Military people state openly that in this situation, if a call to mobilization came, it may only be a fiction.

The chief of staff complains that there is not enough money for defense. He is right, for defense we spend ten times less than the Federal German Republic after radically slimming down our military budget. To be sure, parliamentary deputies, seeing the situation in the armed forces, do not have the courage to intervene and they pay less each time from the budget. This comes all the more easily to them since today, when society is poor and does not feel a direct threat, it is difficult to squeeze out more money for defense.

What is worse, Gen. Wilecki cannot somehow accept the news that the bitter truth—a truth that was accepted even by the experts of the London government [in exile] during the war—that in today's times, Poland has not the smallest chance of going it alone militarily against whichever of its larger neighbors.

As regards the financing and technical supply of the armed forces, we are today in a situation not at all better than that during the II Republic of Poland. The disproportion of the Polish military budget in comparison to that of its neighbors is very similar to the differences before the war. But before the war, we were in a position to produce, design, and modernize weapons of very good European quality,not all that infrequently of a better quality than that of the armies of our neighbors (small arms, light artillery pieces, light tanks, and antitank weapons, some planes which were produced or were in the production stages). Today, we can only dream of such an output in military industrial production.

Salvation is not even to be found in specific alliances but in Poland's entry into the Western security systems. This is what is most important. If we find ourselves under its umbrella, it will not matter whether in our barracks we have put into service 500 tanks, more or less. At present the Spanish Army, equipped not at all worse than the Polish military, upon entering the European Corps, which is not a NATO body, had to frankly lease from Germany 100 Leopard tanks and 100 Marder transporters, and shortly must purchase 200 Marders and Leopards from Germany—the equipment with which the Spanish Army is outfitted is not at all of any use to the European units.

It is necessary to do everything which will permit Poland to be included in the Western security system, even if it is costly and temporarily weakens the Army. The political ambitions of Gen. Wilecki at the very least make integration with this system difficult.

"Even a country such as Poland, viewed as the most 'democratic' of Central European countries and the closest to eventual membership in NATO, does not completely understand the complexity of the civilian-military dependence. (...) events (note from W.Kalicki: such as involvement of the Army in the presidential campaign) are a clear violation of the rule of maintaining the apolitical nature of the armed forces," stated an evaluation of the Center for Defense Studies of Eastern Europe, associated with NATO.

The 14 August speech, the ideas of which Gen. Wilecki, in an only slightly more moderate format, reinforced in his article in the 9 October POLSKA ZBROJNA, was commented on even in countries so little interested in Poland such as Portugal, Spain, or Holland.

The most audible grief over the situation in the command of the Polish armed forces is from those Western politicians and military people who are rather favorably disposed toward Poland. They know best that the argument of a lack of democratic control over the Polish military is the crowning argument of those who want to keep Poland out of the Western defense structures—at the mercy of fortune.

GAZETA SWIATECZNA Report Protested

WS1810121395 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 17 Oct 95 p 1

[Commentary by Marcin Czernic: "A Spoke in Whose Wheel?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With its biased article entitled "The Hat Under the Four-Cornered Service Cap," GAZETA WYBORCZA is making yet another attempt at involving the Polish Armed Forces in a political squabble. Why?

Since 1990, the Polish Armed Forces have been politically unattached, nonaligned and...they still have to defend their identity, their nonpolitical and nonaligned character. Currently, at the time of a heated political battle for the future shape of the state system, I do not think they will yield to political pressure or unsophisticated press provocations.

One bizarre claim raised by the very lengthy GAZETA WYBORCZA article is the charge that the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces and its chief are slowing down our integration with NATO. Only an ignoramus could have come up with something so preposterous. To top it all, the article was published at the time Lieutenant General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, began an official visit to the United States of America at the invitation of General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces. Well, well.

Does this method of putting the problem at this particular moment serve the Polish raison d'etat?

I think that sooner or later the issues raised in the article will have to be commented on. By way of a first reaction, one can only say that the article presents a false picture of the Polish Armed Forces and the transformations they are undergoing at this particular point in history. One can only express astonishment that at such a turning point GAZETA WYBORCZA chooses its own interests over issues of paramount importance for the state, above state defense.

The Polish Armed Forces follow the orders of democratically elected authorities of the Third Polish Republic, follow the will of the parliament and the government, do not yield to the pressure of the particular parties and groupings that claim they have a right to run the Polish Armed Forces. The Polish Army, the General Staff, and its chief observe the provisions of the Constitution. The Polish Armed Forces observe statutes passed by the highest representative state authorities.

Dura lex sed lex, as the old Roman saying goes: The law must be strictly observed.

Walesa Opposes Reducing Foreign Minister's Powers

LD1810141795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1253 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct— President Lech Walesa demands an end to practices that hamper the foreign minister in the execution of his constitutional and legal duties, reads a part of a statement made on behalf of the president by his spokesman Marek Karpinski.

"The blocking of ambassadorial appointments and attempts by the prime minister to take over the duty of running personnel policy in the ministry hamper the interests of the state. This is happening without giving the substantive reasons for this obstruction and with public acknowledgment of Minister Bartoszewski's competences and his independence from internal political structures," the statement reads. According to Karpinski, all of these facts testify to "clear consistence in curtailing the role of the foreign minister and nonconstitutional reduction of his function as the foreign policy coordinator."

Presidential Aide on Foreign Policy Supervision

WS1810145395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Interview with Minister Andrzej Ananicz, Polish secretary of state for foreign policy at the Presidential Chancellery, by Cezary Gmyz; place and date not given: "The President Is Uneasy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gmyz] [Foreign] Minister Bartoszewski has sharply criticized the prime minister for obstructing appointments to ambassadorial and deputy ministerial positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]. Government spokesperson Aleksandra Jakubowska stated that the criticism has to do with the approaching presidential elections.

[Ananicz] I can assure you that Minister Bartoszewski's statement was not checked with the president, and I am deeply convinced it has nothing to do with the ongoing presidential campaign. Minister Bartoszewski, like his predecessor Olechowski, are not taking part in the presidential campaign. It is significant that both the current and the previous foreign minister are very strong, yet at a certain point they were unable to bear the fact that obstacles were placed in their way toward a smooth administration of the diplomatic corps.

The controversy over who is to coordinate Polish foreign policy is not a new one. I would like to point out that last April the president called a meeting to discuss the issue. Although the main topic at the time was Prime Minister Oleksy's visit to Moscow to take part in celebrations marking the anniversary of the end of World War II, the conclusion of the meeting was that the head of the MSZ should coordinate foreign policy. Unfortunately, although the president shares that opinion, declarations have no practical implications.

[Gmyz] Are you speaking of the controversy over who is to appoint ambassadors?

[Ananicz] Among other things. The current Constitution says that the president appoints and dismisses ambassadors. The prime minister's right to initial motions for the appointment of the foreign minister submitted to the president continues to fall under the provisions of a law that has not been amended since 1974. The presidential office is not questioning the fact that the prime minister should have a say on appointments to Polish missions, but one has to note that the Constitution clearly states that this is the authority of the president. The president believes that, because of the very nature of his office, the foreign minister has the skills and knowledge to appoint ambassadors. Unlike the prime minister, the president has never objected to any ambassadorial candidate. The ambassadorial appointments are only part of the problem, anyway.

[Gmyz] What are the remaining problems?

[Ananicz] The MSZ inherited its structure from the communist era. It does not meet the requirements of contemporary methods of implementing foreign policy. Work on developing a new MSZ statute began back in the times of Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The draft prepared by former Deputy Foreign Minister and current Polish Ambassador to the United States Jerzy Kozminski was submitted to the government by [former Foreign] Minister Olechowski. The draft clearly separated political functions from professional cadres. It was not approved. One can only guess why.

[Gmyz] The government claims that the reform of the MSZ will take place within the reform of the entire administrative center.

[Ananicz] Perhaps, but MSZ comments on the issue are not being taken into consideration, and work on the reform is going in a dangerous direction. There is a concept, for instance, to deprive the MSZ of a large part of the integration problems and subordinate them to an office that is to be established especially for the purpose. The same goes for economic issues. The Trade Counsel Offices operating beyond the MSZ that do not meet the requirements of a market economy are being strengthened. It has to be clearly said that such a structure completely fails to match EU standards. The president finds this highly disturbing.

[Gmyz] Are you suggesting that the government intends to carry out foreign policy by limiting the role of the foreign minister?

[Ananicz] I am not suggesting that. Anyone can see how cooperation within the government in this respect is going. It is disturbing, however, that the provisions of Polish foreign policy sometimes become unclear. If one of the president's aides says in public that we can expect to become a member of NATO by 2010, what can one say about Polish intentions? Especially because that statement has never been clarified. I also happen to know that the statement was not checked with the MSZ.

[Gmyz] When I recently asked Prime Minister Oleksy why the post of secretary of state at the MSZ remains vacant, the prime minister replied with a question: "Do you think we do not have enough deputy ministers at the MSZ?"

[Ananicz] I know ministries that have more deputy ministers, but I know of only one ministry where the post of secretary of state —the minister's first deputy— is vacant. I am speaking of the MSZ. This is not normal. The Polish ministry must be the last one in Europe where the headquarters employs fewer than half the people in the missions. This is very bad , especially inasmuch as the diplomats are facing ever more difficult tasks related to the integration processes. If we are to implement foreign policy effectively, we need people capable of doing it.

[Gmyz] The government spokesperson said that Prime Minister Oleksy has no contact with Minister Bartoszewski because, since the Oleksy Cabinet was established, the MSZ head has attended Cabinet sessions only three or four times—he is always abroad.

[Ananicz] Minister Bartoszewski is carrying out very dynamic foreign policy, and this, naturally, involves frequent travel. He is paying foreign visits Minister Olechowski was unable to pay. I will leave the fact that the prime minister's spokesperson issues opinions on the policies of the foreign minister without comment.

Walesa Ponders Decision To Veto Tax Legislation

LD1810150395 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1303 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct— President Lech Walesa said on 18 October that he had not made a final decision on whether to veto the tax law. He described as "difficult" cooperation with the prime minister as regards the ambassadorial appointments. The president added that, according to his information, the prime minister was trying to arrange a meeting with him before going to New York to take part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the United Nations.

Walesa did not rule out that he would go to Florence to take part in the International Day of Prayer, but only for personal and religious motives. The president decided to set up the Foundation and Institute for Researching the History of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].

"I thought there would be greater support for these [tax] bands, but things are otherwise," the president said, adding that many people from different milieux asked him to veto the tax law providing for new six-band scale of taxation. "This means my veto as of today, but I have not made the final decision yet," Walesa said.

"It is I who appoints ambassadors, and I am going to use my powers here," the president declared, replying to the question concerning recent statements by the foreign minister on the prime minister's blocking of ambassadorial appointments. Walesa described his cooperation with the prime minister, who initials the president's candidatures, as "difficult" because he and the prime minister "are working on different wavelengths." He added, however, that, according to his information, the prime minister was trying to arrange a meeting with him before going to New York.

While recalling that he resigned from foreign trips, which could be received as a part of the election campaign, the president did not rule out that he would go to Florence for the International Day of Prayer, but only for personal and religious motives. "This must not be used in the campaign," he stressed.

Andrzej Zakrzewski, minister of state in the Presidential Chancellery, said that the president had decided to set up the Foundation and Institute for Researching the History of the PRL. The Institute would coordinate work of other institutions on this issue.

Poll: Kwasniewski's Lead Over Walesa at 18%

LD1810224695 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2155 GMT 18 Oct 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest poll conducted by the Public Opinion and Market Research Institute PENTOR, Aleksander Kwasniewski [leader of Democratic Left Alliance, SLD] has increased his lead over the other candidates for the post of president.

Thirty-four percent of those polled declare a willingness to vote for Kwasniewski. Lech Walesa is supported by 16 percent and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz by 9 percent. Jacek Kuron runs fourth, with 8 percent. According to PENTOR, 7 percent of the voters will vote for Tadeusz Zielinski [Civil Rights ombudsman]. Jan Olszewski, who clearly gained in the polls, will enjoy the support of 7 percent of those polled.

The person who has gained most in the PENTOR poll is Jan Pietrzak, who is seventh, with 5-percent support. Waldemar Pawlak is supported by 4 percent of those polled, Leszek Moczulski and Janusz Korwin-Mikke by 3 percent each, and Andrzej Lepper, Marek Markiewicz, and Lech Kaczynski by 1 percent each.

On the other hand, Leszek Bubel, Tadeusz Kozluk, Bogdan Pawlowski, and Kazimierz Piotrowicz are supported by nobody.

* * *

The data are from the PENTOR poll conducted between 11 and 13 October. The statistical margin of error is plus or minus 3 percent.

Text of Kwasniewski's Program Declaration

WS1910110095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Oct 95 p 15

[Text of Aleksander Kwasniewski's Program Declaration: "Let Us Choose the Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I have decided to run in the presidential elections. I know how to hold the highest office in the state well and for Poland's benefit. The current style of exercising presidential powers should be changed, so that concern over the good of the country will not be pushed to the margin by political games and by more "wars at the top."

I intend to be an active president. I will take full advantage of the possibilities offered by the present Constitution and in the future by the new one. I would like to give an example and show how the law ought to be observed; I will not stretch it to fit my own interests. Please do not give any credit to the frequently repeated assurances that the current powers of the head of state are not sufficient. These powers will certainly prove to be sufficient for a president who has a good platform and who is willing to cooperate with the parliament and the government. I believe, therefore, that they do not need to be significantly changed in the new basic law. They do not need to be either broadened or limited. They must simply be set in order.

The mission of the president is to guarantee democracy and to initiate its development. I will place particular emphasis on the protection of political rights and civil liberties. I will oppose attempts to limit them, regardless of where they come from.

I declare cooperation with any government that is formed in line with the law and with the principles of democracy. I do not intend to interfere with the process of administering the state. This is a task of the Council of Ministers and of the individual ministries. However, I will launch legislative initiatives and draw the government's attention to areas where unresolved problems are piling up. This goes especially for fair distribution of the costs of economic reforms, profamily policies, as well as participation of public-sector employees and labor veterans in the expected fruits of the economic growth, which has been achieved with such difficulty. I will devote a great deal of attention to the problems of the young generation—the biggest capital that Poland will contribute to the uniting Europe.

I will endorse only such an economic policy that will make it possible to maintain the high output growth rate. Without this we cannot even speak about limiting unemployment, which is a veritable nightmare in many Polish families. Today only production growth can guarantee general development of the Polish countryside. I also declare that I will definitely oppose all attempts to retrace our steps on the way of market reform achievements. Poland must not and will not return to the ponderous and inefficient economy, to lines in front of shops, to centrally controlled prices, and to limiting enterprise.

I believe that the president is not just the highest-ranking representative of the state; I can see a bigger role for him. He should also be the spokesman and the representative of a civil society, a representative of those people who are able to organize things on their own initiative, who do not wait for decisions from people higher up. For this reason, I will initiate further decentralization of powers and extension of the powers of territorial self-governments. I am in favor of establishing powiat-level [small administrative unit] self-governments. I believe that they would offer a chance to stimulate the development of small and medium-size towns; they would also help local communities take over the powers in the sphere of public services.

I intend to work for the good of all citizens equally. I intend to look to the future, to be above the political divisions which we have seen so far. I will not divide Poland into the postcommunist and Solidarity parts. This detrimental differentiation returns us to the past, to a time that has already ended.

The head of state should be a mediator in vital public issues, and by no means can he act as a party to disputes and conflicts. The practice which we have witnessed so far is inadmissible; instead of igniting and aggravating conflicts, the president should ease or resolve them.

Even though I will not renounce my political roots, as president I will not be either on the left or on the right wing. I will stand guard over the fundamental values and the best national traditions, because I am going to unite the people, not split them. My important duties will include creation of a moral order regarding generally accepted social and national values, development of the links between Polonia communities and the fatherland and defense of their rights in the countries in which they live, as well as protection of the rights of national minorities in Poland.

I am an advocate of promoting good political customs, honesty, and tolerance in the public life. On the other hand, I am in favor of combating brutality, arrogance, pursuing of parochial interests, as well as humiliation of people due to their worse material situation, their nationality or the color of their skin, different views or different personal preferences. The Polish state is a home for all of its citizens.

The people are tired of the omnipresent politics and of manifestations of aggression in politics. The president should stand between the people and the state; he should see to it that the governing is good and at the same time that it does not make its presence felt in everyday life. Power should be like shoes, which serve well if they do not hamper anything.

The president, who is responsible for maintenance of sovereignty and security of the state, must engage in development of a modern defense doctrine, help military cadres achieve a high social status, and protect them from being drawn into political disputes. One of my goals will be to ensure such conditions for the Armed Forces which will enable them to peacefully realize the goals set by the highest state organs.

The president should represent Poland with dignity. He should see to it that various state institutions and political forces reach agreements regarding the goals of our foreign policy. Transferring internal disputes and conflict to the international arena can only be detrimental to the state.

Our integration with the EU and at the same time development of economic relations with Central and East European countries are our most important goals. All of us, the entire society, will join the EU. This cannot be a process which involves only some chosen people and which deprives others of jobs and prospects for the future. In this period we should wisely protect the Polish agriculture, so that in fair competition it will be able to gain access to West European markets.

Political and military security will be best guaranteed by Poland's admission to NATO and by good cooperation with neighbors—first of all with Germany and Russia. The fact that Poland was located between these two countries was for centuries the cause of threats and failures. What used to be our geopolitical curse may today become our national opportunity. However, we must take good advantage of it.

Our membership in NATO and in the EU is beneficial for and needed by both sides. We will not play the role of a humble client. To both organizations we will contribute the potential of one of the biggest European nations.

I am running for the highest public office in Poland and hoping for people's support. You certainly are familiar with my political activities. I do hope that you will assess it fairly. I also know what charges have been leveled at me. You are going to hear slogans about "another Polish People's Republic," about the "post- communists," about "militant anti-clericalism." You will also probably hear rumors that Kwasniewski is dreaming of restoring the wicked practices of the real socialism and he is only waiting for the right time to do it.

I am entitled to ask the following question: On what grounds are such allegations formulated? Loud shouts and false demagoguery—these are the easiest things to do. However, it is not very convenient for their authors to get down to the level of facts which prove otherwise. Recent years constitute the most important portion of my political biography. I was one of those who contributed to the Roundtable breakthrough. It was with determination and conviction that I became actively involved in the construction of a democratic and sovereign Poland, a country open to the world and based on market foundations.

It is true that I defended and will continue to defend the dignity of the people who worked hard and led honest lives over the past decades and who do not want their big achievements to be underestimated today. It is true that black-and-white colors of historical evaluations are alien to me. However, the most important thing today is that all of us must go forward together and seize the opportunities offered to us by democracy and the market economy.

I am appealing to my rivals for a real debate on Poland's future. I am appealing to them to submit well-founded arguments. Let us discuss the country's problems, but let us see to it that the discussion is not detrimental to the country's interests and political culture.

Majority of Solidarity Supports Walesa Presidency

LD1810180895 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Over 60 percent of the delegates to the Solidarity National Congress express themselves in favor of supporting Lech Walesa in the presidential elections. Over 20 percent wish to vote for Jan Olszewski and 10 percent for Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. It is not yet clear whether the trade union's National Commission will today support a single candidate.

Just like the delegates to the National Congress, participants in regional congresses expressed themselves in favor of Lech Walesa. The incumbent president was supported by 36 of the 38 Solidarity regions. Union Chairman Marian Krzaklewski appealed to members of the National Commission to make a final decision at the next meeting, with the participation of Lech Walesa. The national commission is discussing this at the moment. Most of the commission members are nonetheless against supporting a single candidate. In June, the national commission announced that it would support a single candidate. It has not done this so far because the right has not been capable of producing a single representative.

Walesa Campaign Image Change Explained

WS1810145095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 95 p 5

[Article by Kazmierz Groblewski: "His Aides Argue That He Is Changing, Going Back to His Roots; The New, Old Face of Lech Walesa"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To restore the image Walesa had five years ago—this is the ambition of his closest aides. The purpose of this tactic, even though it has not been expressed explicitly, is certainly related to the elections: Walesa is to be reelected president.

Lech Walesa himself also says that he is changing. Here is how he terms this: So far he has been a Robin Hood—that is, he acted alone. Now he is beginning to work on a team. As one can guess, this is supposed to mean that he will be open to suggestions made by his aides and that he will take them into account.

"In the next term, a Robin Hood will not be able to do anything," says Walesa. "It is necessary to create agreements, look for people who are prepared to compromise and tolerated by various circles. I am getting ready for this right now so that I will be able to start the work immediately later on."

The operation of "changing Walesa's face" began the moment Mieczyslaw Wachowski and Press Spokesman Leszek Spalinski were recalled (they were recalled as a result of persistent efforts made by some people, a coincidence, and Wachowski's malice or an unpardonable mistake made by him). The recall of Wachowski offered a chance to try to change the president's image. This would help regain the voters' confidence and start the fight for Lech Walesa's reelection very seriously. This task was taken up by Andrzej Zakrzewski, at that time a secretary of state, who was then quickly promoted to the rank of a minister of state. Zakrzewski will carry out the task along with his aides, especially Marek Karpinski, whom he recommended as the new press spokesman and who was also one of the authors of Walesa's speeches. Surprisingly, in the implementation of the new task, Zakrzewski will be supported by Chancellery head Stanislaw Iwanicki and Andrzej Kozakiewicz, who has been promoted to the rank of deputy chief of the Chancellery—surprisingly because both of them were previously regarded as supporters of Mieczyslaw Wachowski.

The change in the president's image was first to be proved by changes going on in the President's Chancellery. Their purpose was to introduce a new order in the Chancellery after the collapse of the entire system of personal interdependency when Wachowski was in office. The people behind those changes wanted to show the public that there was already order in the Chancellery, that it was already efficient, that there was no room there for any irregularities, and that it would not be used in the presidential campaign. This is the picture of the reorganization the public opinion received.

For the time being, it is difficult to assess how much has remained of the system of informal interdependency.

The information that was given to the public was not entirely true; however, whether something is true or not is not very important in an election campaign. The only thing that counts is what voters will consider to be true. The structure of the Chancellery was really changed. As is characteristic of all reorganization processes, some people got promoted while others lost as a result. The person who is definitely the most powerful in the president's entourage is Andrzej Zakrzewski, who formally has more powers than Mieczyslaw Wachowski did. However, it is debatable in exactly what respects the new structure of the Chancellery is better than the old one.

The head of the Chancellery issued an ordinance according to which only one Chancellery minister may take part in the president's meetings with voters, and employees of the Chancellery are banned from engaging in politics during working hours.

However, Stanislaw Iwanicki, the head of the Chancellery, did take part, during working hours, in Lech Walesa's first "electoral" news conference. Next to him was yet another official of the Chancellery, and all of this happened during working hours.

For a few weeks now, Lech Walesa has been waging a very active election campaign, even though he has been invariably saying that he is not waging any campaign. His trips to provincial areas are quite obviously related to the coming elections. Neither the interests of the state nor the internal situation in the country require that the president hold weekly or even more frequent meetings with regional Solidarity members in various parts of the country. These trips are organized by the Chancellery. This was the case before the face-changing operation, and the situation has not changed.

The president rightly notes that it is difficult to draw a line between his "being a candidate" and "being president." However, if there is a will, certain things can be separated. All of the trips to provincial areas that Walesa recently made should not have been organized by employees of the Chancellery and financed by its money; they should have been organized by Walesa's campaign staff and financed by their money.

During the campaign preceding the parliamentary elections, Walesa did not show much support for the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, which he had set up himself. Among the possible reasons for this situation was the following: The blame for it was laid also on Walesa's entourage (that is, primarily Mieczyslaw Wachowski). Now, even though Wachowski has been recalled, the situation is beginning to be very similar. One could get the impression that the people in Walesa's entourage have decided that he will win the presidential elections with the help of the Chancellery, as a result of which the importance of the campaign staff is being played down. This is a fight for future influence if Lech Walesa is reelected. When asked at a news conference about which people would be his closest aides after his electoral victory, Walesa gave an evasive answer. If Walesa's chances for reelection continue to grow in opinion polls, so probably will the competition among various groups for a place near him. This phenomenon, which was so characteristic of the period when Wachowski was in office, did not vanish along with him.

The "new face" of Lech Walesa still resembles the old one quite considerably. It is the very same Lech Walesa who at news conferences says the following:

"All of my great ideas have proved themselves. I also have a platform regarding the next five years. I know how to do it. A platform that can be put into effect here, not on the Moon. My platform will defeat everyone. No one should even compete with me because they have no chance."

"I may speak nicely, or not so nicely in various groups, but I always say the same thing," he says.

"I am watching my countercandidates. I can see their meetings, 15 persons, including relatives, and my meetings that attract thousands of people. Thus, let us draw conclusions: People do not come to see something mediocre; they come when they are interested."

Walesa is vigorous and really bickers with journalists as he used to do a few years ago. He directs well-targeted criticism at his political partners, such as Prime Minister Oleksy.

However, one does not gain new supporters with verbal victories. Now that he has been president for five years, one expects concrete achievements from Lech Walesa. The president is unable to present them. The answers that he gives are vague, and his weekly news conferences do not provide many explanations. He did not say anything really important at any of them. This especially goes for the conference on foreign affairs, where he seemed to be unprepared.

Stanislaw Ciosek will remain our ambassador in Moscow until the end of the year. However, the president's men saw to it that the decision regarding the end of his term was advertised before the elections and, in addition, in such a way that the media stressed the president's contribution to the recall of Ciosek. After all, there is no reason the foreign minister should take the credit; instead of him, it can be the president.

Walesa himself is also doing his best to gain support; he proved this by vetoing the amendments to the law on pension valorization.

If Lech Walesa is changing, it is not a political event but a tactic that is normally used in election campaigns for the purpose of gaining support among voters.

It is also possible that Walesa's "face-changing" operation will remain unnoticed among most voters.

Minister Rejects Report on Electioneering in Army

WS1810123195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Pawel Wronski: "Politics in the Garrison"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski has refused to approve the report of a commission investigating the speech delivered by General Leon Komornicki, deputy chief of the General Staff, on 27 July in Szczecin.*

The commission is to complete the report. GAZETA WYBORCZA sources claim that, during a meeting with the officer cadres at the garrison, the general said that only President Lech Walesa and Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki really looked after the Armed Forces. He also criticized the current government. Our sources claim that he convinced soldiers to vote for the incumbent president.

A report on the incident, submitted by Deputy Defense Minister Jozef Kuriata to the Sejm in August, was overruled by the deputies. An investigation commission headed by Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka was to submit a new report on 12 October. "Hold your guns; there is no reason to hurry. This is not a case of driving the mule by hitting it on the back with a rod but a serious investigation that might be decisive for the career of an officer," Minister Okonski explained yesterday.

According to our sources, after an investigation and interrogations carried out in mid-September in Szczecin, the commission concluded that the general's speech contained political elements, but it did not find any proof of outright electioneering. Among the documents submitted by the commission, there is, however, a mysterious letter with illegible signatures stating that electioneering did in fact take place. Members of the investigating team, however, were unable to establish the names of the authors.

Iliescu Views Achievements of 1989 Revolution

AU1710140995 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 14 Oct 95 p 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Kurt Seinitz in Vienna on 12 October: "What Is Going On in Romania?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Seinitz] Mr. President, has the "revolution been betrayed"?

[Iliescu] One should just look at the results objectively. What was the platform of the 1989 revolution? The destruction of the totalitarian regime and introduction of democracy. I think we have achieved that—the abolition of the one-party regime. I think we have achieved that. Replacing arbitrariness with a constitutional system with a democratic constitution, based on the separation of powers. I think we have achieved that—even rather quickly.

We have more parties in Parliament than some other countries; the government party has only 34 percent. We have a lively press, which not every country has. We have 40 private television stations and more than 100 private radio stations.

[Seinitz] What do you feel when you hear that you are an "old communist"?

[Iliescu] What about Russia's Yeltsin, Hungary's Horn, and Poland's Oleksy? They were decisionmakers in the old system right up to the last minute. This was the situation in one-party regimes. I fell into disfavor already in 1971 and was sent into the political desert. I was persecuted by the Securitate.

[Seinitz] What happened to the apparatus of the Communist Party and the Securitate?

[Iliescu] The apparatus of oppression did not survive the revolution. Only persons who are unburdened of the past were accepted into a new security system, as any democratic country has it.

[Seinitz] Is the problem with the 1.8 million Hungarians in Romania a dangerous time bomb, a potential "second Bosnia"?

[Iliescu] One cannot say that at all. We have good relations with Hungary, as we have with all our neighboring countries. We are in constant dialogue with the Hungarians in Romania. They have all opportunities to preserve their identity. Coexistence works. Many thousand mixed marriages are good evidence of that.

The problem is the agitation by some of their leaders. In this connection, one must note what is possible and what is not possible. Not possible is the demand for ethnic territorial autonomy. The Hungarians—7 percent of Romania's inhabitants—have a majority only in two small districts in the country. This would mean creating Bantustans, within which there would be Romanian micro- Bantustans.

[Seinitz] When you talk of extremists on the Hungarian side, one must not forget the extremists on the Romanian side, either, who, furthermore, support the government in Parliament.

[Iliescu] This is indeed a contraction, but I am also attacked by such extremists. After the parliamentary elections in 1992 we had a dramatic situation, because a broad coalition government failed due to the opposition's rejection. However, the country has to be governed in some way. This is how the current constellation came about.

Statement of Defense Ministers Tinca, Keleti

96P20025A Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 5 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI special correspondent Doru Dragomir: "Gheorghe Tinca and Gyorgy Keleti Signed a Joint Statement in Budapest Yesterday—EVENIMENTUL ZILEI Is Providing You With the Full Text of This Document"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The minister of defense of the Republic of Hungary [Gyorgy Keleti] and the minister of defense of Romania [Gheorghe Tinca] met in Budapest from 3 to 5 October 1995.

The two ministers agreed that, during the past year, there were concrete, noticeable developments in the area of bilateral military contacts. Most of the 15 points of the draft package for cooperation, agreed upon at the ministerial-level meetings which took place on 18-20 November 1994, have been implemented as follows:

—Higher-level meetings of the leaders of the two ministries and armies have become more frequent;

—The first training courses have begun, on a reciprocal basis;

—The two sides were represented in NATO—Partnership for Peace exercises in neighboring countries which did not have to be announced in advance;

—In October 1995, a subunit of tanks will carry out actual firing exercises on a firing range in Hungary;

—During August and September 1995, the two sides carried out instruction at the level of small subunits on each other's territory and, in October, a delegation of the River Fleet for the Defense of the Country will take part in joint training in Romania;

Out of a sincere desire to contribute to the process of historic reconciliation between Romania and Hungary and to the continuing development of planned, concrete cooperation, and in the interest of maintaining the discussion process, the two ministers expressed the desire to support progress in the following areas in 1996:

—For the purpose of strengthening confidence, an agreement on supplementary measures will be negotiated, in the spirit of the Vienna Document;

—Signing a bilateral agreement in the field of education;

—Signing an agreement in connection with the reciprocal maintenance of military burial places and signing a protocol for cooperation in this domain;

—Continuing consultations in the field of military technology, with special attention to the subject of research and development, and extending the cycle of use of technical means of combat;

—Initiating talks on the possibility of cooperating in the area of methods of identifying combat aircraft;

—Continuing the exchange of information for the clarification of confused situation which might appear in airspace in the border zone and for the joint execution of search and rescue missions for aircraft which are in danger;

—Initiating consultations on beginning possible cooperation in preparing peacekeeping and monitoring operations;

—Expanding professional contacts between border units;

—Establishing direct contacts between the two ministries and general staffs;

—Organizing a joint seminar on experiences in applying the "Open Skies" bilateral agreement.

The two ministers said that, in the spirit of strengthening confidence, Hungary and Romania, as parties to the European security system, will continue to give major importance to developing bilateral ties and will act to strengthen Central European security. The two ministers agreed that the joint commission of military historians should be reactivated for the purpose of studying the common historical past of the two armies.

The two ministers also examined the issue of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality who fought in the Hungarian Army during World War II and who are recognized as war veterans by Romanian law, and they stated their intention to obtain the respective monetary rights, specified in Romanian legislation, in the case of these citizens.

The two ministers decided that, in 1996, young officers of the two armies would spend their vacations in the other country, on the basis of reciprocity.

Minister of Defense [signed] Gyorgy Keleti

Minister of Defense [signed] Gheorghe Tinca

Tinca Views Army Budget, Personnel Cuts

AU1910085395 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 14-15 Oct 95 p 3

[Report by Doru Dragomir on a news conference by Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca: "The Constitution Does Not Prohibit the Presence of Nuclear Weapons or Foreign Troops on Romanian Territory"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Soldiers Can Have Political Sympathies But the Army Will Stay Outside Political Games

Yesterday, 13 October, Romania's Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca began a news conference with a statement related to possible internal conflicts between the leadership of the ministry and army generals:

"There is no dissent among the generals or within the Romanian Army. The army is disciplined, observes the rules, and the soldiers know that these rules have authority. The soldiers respect their commanders, the civilian state authority, and the state institutions and they know that strengthening these institutions is a basic element for strengthening the pluralist democratic regime stipulated in the Romanian Constitution. The reform process is not contested in the army, either of the army or of Romanian society. In the army, Romania's option to integrate into euro-atlantic structures is not contested. It is true that the fact that we are confronting difficult problems in this reform process is mentioned. If there are different views or opinions, these mean only that we are striving to improve the solutions to the difficulties that we are encountering. In the army there is adequate combat training and this is no inferior to last year's training. We do not concentrate on the amount but rather on the quality of training. The army is stable and it represents a pillar of stability in our country.

Soldiers can have political sympathies, but the military institution will remain outside political games. The army will not be drawn into political games. My relations with the soldiers are good and the Romanian Army will continue to remain outside difficulties encountered by others.

Some people believe that the answer I gave General Cheler [recently dismissed commander of the 4th Transylvanian Army] was allegedly too weak. As long as I hold public office in the Romanian state, nobody and nothing will compel me to be unrestrained or impolite in my relations with others. This because I want the political life of our country to be civilized and that others should respect us as Romanians."

Turning to the stage of reform in the army, Gheorghe Tinca presented an ample report on the legislation, the reduction of troops and combat technology, foreign relations, the equipping of the army, programs for modernization and cooperation in production, the improvement of military instruction, combat training, the social situation, and activities within the Partnership for Peace.

Seven Laws Have Been Passed and Three Are Still at the Draft Stage

So far, seven laws directly affecting the Ministry of National Defense [MApN] have been passed. Three are currently with Parliament and the MApN is currently working out two that will be submitted to the Supreme Council for the country's defense.

Romania's Parliament has so far passed the following: the Law on Romania's National Defense; the Law on the Organization and Functioning of the MApN; the Law on War Veterans and Certain Rights of Individuals and War Widows; the Law on the Status of Military Personnel; the Law on the Protection of Personnel and Patrimony in the Military Production Sector; the Law on the Preparation of the National Economy and of Territory for Defense; the Law on Adjusting Military State Pensions According to the Pay of Military Rank. The law on the rule of a state of siege and state of emergency and the new law on organization and functioning of the MApN are currently being worked out.

41,300 Positions Have Been Cut in the Romanian Army

So far, 723 positions at the MApN, 463 in the staffs of various services, and 41,300 military and civilian positions all together have been cut in the army, which means that positions have been reduced by 15.4 percent. As regards ground troops, the four armies have been reduced to three. In the year 2000, there will be only 190,000 positions in the army.

Fighter Aircraft Will Be Modernized With the Assistance of Western Firms

In accordance with international conventions, 1,591 tanks (63.5 percent of the initial stock), 2,453 artillery pieces (62.4 percent), 1,053 armored combat vehicles (33.4 percent), and 78 fighter aircraft have been decommissioned. Currently Romania has 1,375 tanks and 1,475 artillery pieces of 100-mm caliber or above, 2,100 armored vehicles, 430 fighter aircraft, and 15 attack helicopters.

Referring to the modernization program and cooperation in arms production, Tinca said that there are programs in the Air Force to modernize MiG-21, IAR-93, and IAR-99 aircraft and IAR-330 H helicopters. Negotiations are currently under way for the Cobra AH-1F helicopter and next year the first C-130 military aircraft will arrive in Romania.

In the field of air defense, long-range radar and radio location stations START-1 have been purchased. The 30-mm antiaircraft guns will also be modernized.

In the future, our intention is to replace our tanks' engines with higher-powered engines (1,200-1,500 horespower) and replace the gasoline engines of amphibious armored carriers [TAB] with diesel engines. We also intend to renew the armaments and the aiming devices.

Currently we are also involved in a program regarding CARGO and SAGEATA ammunition and proximity detonators [focoase de proximitate]. These programs are being unfolded in cooperation with partners in the United States, Germany, Turkey, France, Poland, Bulgaria, and Israel.

All Military Personnel in Harghita and Covasna Have Quarters and Their Wives Have Jobs

The social situation of military personnel has improved. Seven units have been redistributed and new garrisons have been built in Satu Mare, Carei, and Miercurea Ciuc. We intend, within the limits of our financial possibilities, to repair approximately 1,000 garrisons, but so far we have succeeded in repairing only 72. The pay of military personnel has increased this year by 57.4 percent compared with 1994.

The minister of defense said that in Harghita and Covasna Counties all personnel benefit from quarters and no wife of a member of the military is unemployed. There are 20,000 throughout the country without quarters.

With the Money From the Army Budget the Wheat Crisis and the Problem of the Cernavoda Station Have Been Solved

Out of the $779.2 million, which represents the defense budget for 1995 (2.52 percent of GNP) with the approval of Parliament, 141 billion lei has been deducted to solve the wheat scandal and some problems at the Cernavoda station. Currently there is still a financial blockage of 27 percent of the defense budget. "The budget austerity fund sometimes reaches unbearable limits," said Tinca. "The country needs external financing and the defense capability also depends on it," said the defense minister, who foresees "somber prospects" for the next year in connection with the austerity budget.

In response to a question, Tinca said that if in the future Romania becomes a NATO member, the Constitution does not prohibit the presence of nuclear weapons and foreign troops in Romania. However, the final decision will rest with Parliament.

On Thursday [12 October], Tinca had a meeting at MApN Headquarters with a group of generals who were placed into the reserves according to provisions of the statute on military personnel.

PSM Announces Plan To Leave Coalition

LD1710175395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian Government coalition is in danger of collapsing. Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest.

[Bogdan] Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], a member of the four-party government coalition, has unexpectedly announced that his party will leave the coalition because the leading government force, the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PSDR], has only been looking after its own interests.

Thus, the governing alliance may lose its parliamentary majority. What is more, the leading government party is about to consider this week the possibility of breaking up cooperation with the Greater Romania Party [PRM], as its leader [Corneliu Vadim Tudor] accused President Iliescu of treason and threatened him with death. It would definitely put the government in minority, which the PSDR has been trying to prevent with a series of forced compromises. Vadim Tudor's prediction that the cabinet will fall by Christmas if it breaks up with his party can easily prove true.

Adrian Nastase, chairman of the leading government party, has said that they are ready to govern even with a minority. Political observers, however, consider it unlikely that in such situation Vadim Tudor's party will be excluded from the coalition.

PUNR To Remain in Coalition

AU1810184695 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by "R.M.": "Until the Next Elections, the Romanian National Unity Party Will Stay With the Social Democracy Party of Romania, Regardless of Developments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the confusion triggered by the dissension within the parties of the quadrilateral [Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR, the Romanian National Unity Party—PUNR, the Socialist Party of Labor—PSM, and the Greater Romania Party—PRM], only one position remains firm, namely the one of PUNR, which will not desert the joint government with the PDSR, regardless of what happens with the other partners. The fact that the ruling party wants to rid itself of the PRM and the PSM considers that the "four-party protocol did not and does not exist" will not change PUNR's course. At least, this is what Senator Valer Suian—who usually reflects the party's disposition, without resorting to the strident outbursts a la Funar [PUNR president]—said yesterday at a PUNR news conference. As a matter of fact, commenting on the "Iliescu-Zhirinovskiy-Funar-Vadim" episode [President Iliescu termed PUNR President Funar and PRM President Tudor "Romania's Zhirinovskiys" at a meeting with U.S. Congressmen in Washington on 28 September], Senator Suian said, on behalf of the party, that the original version is almost inoffensive compared to the version first launched by the press. Therefore, PUNR does not attach to it more attention than it deserves. "However, Mr. Funar is entitled to ask for an explanation in his own name," the PUNR executive secretary added. Actually, on 10 October the PUNR leader asked the PDSR Central Executive Bureau to summon President Iliescu for an explanation about his U.S. statements, after which, and only then, should it take a decision on the alliance with the PRM. Once the chapter of the convulsions within the governmental arch was ended, Mr. Suian turned to other issues and said that PUNR is focusing its efforts on the tripartite alliance within the National Unity Bloc [between PUNR, the Agrarian Democratic Party, and the Ecological Movement of Romania], in view of the electoral nature of the alliance and the forthcoming local and general elections.

Students Discuss Grievances With Ministers

AU1810163995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] State Ministers Dan Mircea Popescu, Florin Georgescu, and Mircea Cosea, as well as Minister of Education Liviu Maior, acceded to a demand of the students who are rallied in Victoria Square and met with a delegation appointed by them. The discussions are in progress at this time.

Meanwhile, the strike of higher education students from all over the country continues in Victoria Square. The students are protesting against decisions made by the Ministry of Education on fees for students who have to repeat their classes after failing their exams and for supplementary teaching activities.

Ovidiu Zare, vice president of the Confederation of Students of Romania, told our correspondents: We will not end the strike until the problems are solved. On behalf of the executive group of the League of Students, Romeo Mosoiu said that the strike is supported by all the students from the university centers around the country and that the representatives of the League of Students are currently engaged in negotiations with the government representatives.

In a press communique received by our editorial board and in an interview granted to our radio station, Education Minister Liviu Maior took a stand on the general strike of students from the state higher education institutions and said that Ministry Decisions 5026 and 5244 of 1995 contain recommendations for the university senates on obligatory fees to be paid by students repeating their years of study. The respective decisions also recommend to the various university senates that the fees for the students who failed their exams should be paid in four installments with a deadline to be fixed by the university senate bureaus, which should not exceed the date of the start of each semester's official exam session. The minister said that no fees are required from students attending optional and elective courses included in the teaching curriculum, but only for additional teaching activities. Beginning with 1995- 96, the candidates admitted to second specialization courses after passing the appropriate university entrance exams will not have to pay study fees.

In the interview granted to our radio station, Mr. Liviu Maior said that right now, 25,000 students in various state higher education institutions throughout the country are in an unclear situation, since they have not even presented themselves for the exams. Due to the fact that certain rector's offices around the country interpreted the recommendations included in the respective decisions as compulsory, the minister said that, in the future, he will organize elections at the leadership level of the higher education institutions. At the end of the interview, Mr. Maior said that the aforementioned decisions will not be canceled, since they are fully legal, our correspondent Cristina Iliescu reports.

Right-Wing Party Opposes SDA Registration

AU1310212095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 95

[Report by Fadil Smajic from Ljubljana]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovene national right will do everything in accordance with the valid legislation to see that the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Slovenia, based in Jesenice, cannot be registered. This was stated by Saso Lap, president of a party called the Slovene National Right, a deputy in the national assembly, during the reading of a protest letter addressed to the Slovene Assembly pertaining to the month-long maneuvers regarding the official registration of the SDA for Slovenia in accordance with the amended Law on Parties.

The letter was sent to Assembly Speaker Jozef Skoljc by Omer Osmic, president of the SDA for Slovenia. This is an important point, because there is another SDA in Slovenia based in Velenje, and which also has its president.

However, this belongs in another tale. Omer Osmic's letter to Jozef Skoljc first expresses the conviction that Mr. Skoljc would do everything to put an end to the procrastination regarding the registration of the SDA for Slovenia. However, the letter ends on a quite different note, which immediately caused negative comments. Namely, Osmic, using an inappropriate political tone, says that, I quote, I do not even wish to imagine the consequences of preventing the participation of the SDA for Slovenia in the 1996 elections, end of quote.

In this sentence, Slovene right-wingers saw a threat of the highest order which will only be to their advantage in their future election campaign. This fear of the different, in this case the need of Bosniaks in Slovenia who took Slovene citizenship—and there are several hundred thousand of them—to organize themselves politically both at the level of local self-management and in elections for the state assembly, has prompted deputy Saso Lap, president of the Slovene National Right, to describe this need in the following words: today an inch, tomorrow a mile, the day after tomorrow the assembly, and finally a national minority. Ultimately, Slovenia could be called Bosnia.

Federal

Austria Anticipates End To Economic Sanctions

LD1810194295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 18 (TANJUG)—Charge d'affaires of the Austrian Embassy in Belgrade Michael Weninger said Wednesday his country was ready to renew economic ties with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as soon as the U.N. sanctions against that country were lifted.

Weninger told a press conference that he was optimistic that the peace process in former Yugoslavia would successfully be completed soon, which would result in the lifting of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions.

Weninger pointed out that bilateral cooperation had not been broken off even under the sanctions, but had proceeded as much as it was legally possible with permission from the U.N. sanctions committee.

General Perisic Belittles Croatian Army Successes

AU1910080095 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 95 pp 6-8

[Interview with General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, by unidentified Podgorica POLIS correspondent; place and date not given: "Neither War Nor Peace at Any Price"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLIS] General, is the folk saying "War is not waged by honorable arms..." applicable to the current conditions of warfare? What does your military experience and the recent events in other parts of our former fatherland tell us about this?

[Perisic] Placing the human factor above the material factors of warfare, that is, the man above the arms, has always been a modern view of warfare. Modern wars, however, increasingly confirm the important role of highly sophisticated weapons and material factors in general, and in a certain way they modify this saying. My direct experience speaks in favor of these assertions, but even the most modern systems are only efficient to the extent that those operating them are efficient. The man was, is, and will remain the basic and most important factor of warfare. He has to be trained, motivated, and stimulated to achieve the goals set by his unit, organization, or state. Our people are capable of accomplishing anything, no matter where they are, here or abroad, from sports to science, culture, business, or the army....

[POLIS] How do you, as an experienced fighter, explain the rapid fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina [Serb-held territories in Croatia]?

[Perisic] It is hard now to make any complete assessments or explanations, because there are many causes, they are quite complex, and not all of them are suitable for relative analysis. However, there is no doubt that the actions taken by the international community, from the premature recognition of Croatia, the ineffective peace initiatives, to indirect and in particular direct military assistance, contributed to the greatest exodus of the Serb people this century. Of course, there is a certain degree of responsibility on the part of the state and military leaderships of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which did not make use of all their potentials, military and political, to secure their survival on their native soil at all costs. Croatia was preparing for four years to accomplish its goals and it set its entire state organization and international factors to that goal, whereas the Serbs were wasting energy and valuable time on things of which they should be ashamed and consequently learned their lesson. The rapid fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina was more a result of the aggregate weakness of the Serbs than of Croatian strength and capability. We are often inclined to justify our weaknesses by our enemy's strength. However, every man or nation has strong ties to his native soil. Historical memory is long and almost endless. Love of one's native country is equally strong with individuals and peoples. Nothing lasts for ever. Everybody wants to return to his roots, to where his roots are and his family stems from. The next generations will have their chance.

[POLIS] What has changed in the geostrategic situation after Croatia took much of the Republic of Serb Krajina and some parts of the Serb Republic [Serb-held territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina] as well?

[Perisic] We have now the widening of the Western sphere of influence, NATO expansion, and the spreading of the Vatican's influence eastward, in accordance with the geo-political strategy of the new world order, which as a goal and idea was established much earlier. Croatia's role in the implementation of this concept was determined in advance and Croatia, with massive assistance of the West, is only executing it. Such great changes have come about that nothing is the same any longer. New quasi-democratic states, such as pro-fascist Croatia and Alija's [Izetbegovic] fundamentalist Bosnia, are products of the current time and interests. But that is not a prospect for either the Balkans or Europe.

[POLIS] According to some estimates, the Republic of Croatia can now be viewed as a military power in this part of Europe. How dangerous could that be for the FRY?

[Perisic] I have already said what the position of Croatia is in the new international power structure. Regardless of its expeditious arming and adopting NATO's (American) army model, Croatia alone, without the help and support of the Western allies, objectively is not and cannot be a danger for the FRY. After all, without NATO's decisive assistance, from intelligence, propaganda, and strategic analysis to the most direct operational support, the Croatian Army has not carried out a single successful military operation so far, including the taking of part of the Republic of Serb Krajina. I think that regardless of all the help and the current role of Croatia, it will never be a power in the region and it would not be intelligent for it to behave like that, because "woe betide him who is defended by others." In the history of its existence, it has always been in the shadow or service of some major power and, whenever it was without a master, it sought help and protection from the Serbian nation. So far the Croatian Army has been engaged in fighting against unarmed, destitute people, who have never actually fought at all. I do not think that the Croatian Army is able successfully to parry any organized army or state, while the "successes" so far are founded on flimsy grounds that are dragging the Croats into the realm of fiction.

[POLIS] How do you feel about our — since August 1994 — state slogan "peace at any price?" Would it be better to say that we are for peace, but not at any price, which means that we support a peace that guarantees the security of the FRY and those who see in us their only hope and support?

[Perisic] I agree that the slogan "peace at any price" is not quite adequate. There is no peace or war at any price. Only freedom does not have a price and one has to pay for it whatever it costs. [sentence as published] Every soldier or general is trained to fight and repel any danger to his people and country, but if he is forced into a war, if his freedom, dignity, and the honor of his people and fatherland are endangered, he will defend those things by taking part in a war. However, a war is difficult to win if the entire country is not involved, all the institutions and the entire population. It is precisely for that reason that it is very important to understand the essence of warfare: If politics and strategy correspond, the results of defense are maximal, but if they are out of proportion, then the results of defense are uncertain.

Nobody knows how brutal war is better than soldiers and generals. For that reason we are for peace, but peace can be secured only if all of us, together with all the state institutions, are ready to defend it. The defense of peace is accomplished in peacetime and even by preparing for war. The question of war or peace is a concern of the state, rather than that of the soldier. If the state has no other choice, then soldiers have to protect the interests of their people and defend the state.

[POLIS] Many Herzegovinans, who see you as their one-time savior, have told me that your departure was kept secret from the people for two months. In an interview to DUGA, shortly before your appointment to an extremely important duty, you said that you were not concerned about allegations that you were a war criminal and that, if you were brought before the international tribunal, your best defenders would be, in addition to your own people, the Croatian and Muslim people. Would you be able to repeat that statement today, given your experience and knowledge?

[Perisic] I am not familiar with what you said first, that my departure was kept secret, but the fact is that I stayed there for an additional two months to prepare and organize the people of Herzegovina for the successful defense against the resurrected Ustasha [World War II Croatian fascist] state. Since I am not concerned about possible charges that I am a war criminal, I am convinced that I would have defenders among all the people who objectively and independently view the current reality and past actions.

[POLIS] Conscription for Army service ranges between 85 and 88 percent. Does that mean that there are certain problems in the army's organization?

[Perisic] The basis of the Army register is the records kept by authorized state institutions: registries of births, the Interior Ministry and its departments, various registration offices, schools, magistrates, and others. The Army register is as up-to-date as the registers of other state institutions. All the basic problems arise from that. For instance, registration for Army service is conducted among men who are 17 years of age. The basis for this registration is the data from registers of births made 17 years ago. All the changes that have come about in the meantime — changes of residence, emigration abroad, and such things — are contained in records kept by other institutions that keep records on citizens. For that reason, a certain number of draftees are subsequently registered and the military register is thereby updated. Therefore, one cannot conclude that there are problems in the Army's organization. We have accommodated the military-territorial division to the territorial division of civilian authorities, which should result in a complete Army register. The Army register is just part of the aggregate organization of society and the situation would probably be similar, or even worse, if you analyzed any other register: school registers, those of real estate, or any other goods.

[POLIS] Recently many have been ignoring call-ups sent out by the military authorities. There is talk about varying numbers of young men who have left the fatherland to dodge the draft, while a novel that deals with just such a topic has recently been awarded a major literary award.... The question of patriotism here and today is inevitable....

[Perisic] The question of violating the law on Army service is not within the jurisdiction of the military organization, but rather within the jurisdiction of the responsible legal and other bodies. As for patriotism, an emotive relation between an individual and a community, which conditions his behavior, it is always topical, even now and here. When a country is surrounded by armed conflicts and exposed to all sorts of pressures and blackmail, all those who try to dodge or have succeeded in dodging their military service at the time when we need their help should give it some serious thought.

[POLIS] Do you think that the Yugoslav Army has succeeded in restoring the reputation that the former Serbian and Montenegrin armies once had?

[Perisic] The Yugoslav Army has unjustly inherited the negative legacy of the former Yugoslav People's Army, the consequence of which is a certain erosion of the reputation of its professional members. Since the Serbian and the Montenegrin people cherish the spirit of their victorious armies, it is not possible in a short time to get rid of this negative legacy. However, the confidence of our people in the Army is high, which is confirmed by some recent public opinion polls, the results of which have appeared in the press. The Yugoslav Army is the army of its people and is joined by all its sons of military age. For the time being, this is the best army that we have and our common duty is to endeavor to improve the Army on a daily basis, particularly by developing its combat readiness, which is most important for its reputation.

[POLIS] According to official estimates, the Yugoslav Army is short of as much as 854 million dinars this year. How is this major problem to be solved without having a negative impact on the combat readiness of our country?

[Perisic] It will be difficult to solve it! The Army is doing and will do everything that it can and is able to, to maintain the achieved level of combat readiness, but some activities and things will have to undergo restrictive measures.

[POLIS] In addition to the problems with the budget, what are the most difficult obstacles for the Yugoslav Army on its way toward the announced and partly implemented transformation and elimination of its partisan character?

[Perisic] The elimination of its partisan character is part of the Army transformation and has already been implemented, not partly but thoroughly, since it is not a process, but is accomplished by legal acts. The transformation is a lengthy and complicated process that is achieved in a complex social environment and it is influenced more or less by all social or other movements or changes. All attempts to manipulate the Army present a great obstacle.

[POLIS] Are you irritated by assertions that the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is the party of the generals?

[Perisic] Everything that is malevolent is unacceptable. Although this question is predominantly politically colored, I can tell you that those assertions cannot inflict any more serious damage, yet they may still draw attention away from the point and place the Yugoslav Army in a partisan context, which is unnecessary. All the parties have probably registered their members, so if you consider the assertion possible, you should find out for yourself and produce the names of all active generals who are members of any of those parties.

[POLIS] Some retired generals are waging war even today on the newspaper pages. As a consequence, many details of the bloody end of our former fatherland are surfacing. Would it be good if some official institution, such as the General Staff or the Supreme Defense Council, helped to resolve some doubts in that respect?

[Perisic] Subjective assessments and attempts to make partial analyses of rather complex and wide-ranging social changes may accelerate a complex insight into the past and current events, but they might also slow it down and even inhibit it. The necessary distance in time, scientific thought, and in the first place historical thought will provide objective answers to all these stated and unstated questions to which the General Staff, as well as other institutions of the Yugoslav Army, will make a full contribution. All of us here are so inclined toward polemics that whatever issue is brought up, despite the clearest proof or assessments by the highest authorities, it will cause arguments, responses, or opposite assessments.

[POLIS] How truthful are the claims that many people, and particularly young experts, are leaving the Yugoslav Army because of the extremely difficult financial position there and poor chances to settle their housing problems?

[Perisic] The Army is facing the problem of the early drain on personnel and, at the same time, the poor response of candidates for military schools and military service in general. In the last two years alone the Yugoslav Army has lost 29 people with doctor's degrees, 70 with master's degrees, and 299 with undergraduate degrees. One of the reasons for leaving the Army, but not the only one, is our financial situation. Job opportunities and better salaries elsewhere are a significant reason to leave Army service. However, in the current conditions of the endangered security of our country from many sides, individuals leaving the Yugoslav Army speak more for their professional commitment and moral values than for the material hardships.

[POLIS] To what extent do the jurisdiction and equipment of the Army and the police, or rather police forces, overlap, and not on paper but in reality?

[Perisic] The Army and the police (or police forces) have precisely defined roles and tasks. In certain situations there are corresponding legal regulations that anticipate mutual responsibilities, which presuppose cooperation rather than the overlapping of jurisdictions. The equipment used by the Army and MUP [Ministry of Interior Affairs] forces correspond to their roles and objective capacities.

[POLIS] Would you please comment on various statements that the officials in Montenegro and the FRY have issued regarding the shelling of a coastal part of the Bay of Kotor?

[Perisic] I would rather not comment on this matter. It is not my duty and I do not, as a matter of principle, want to explain other people's attitudes.

[POLIS] Is there a fear in the Yugoslav Army of our current state disintegrating? The forces in Montenegro and Serbia that advocate FRY's division are not marginal.

[Perisic] No, there is not. In the Yugoslav Army there is no fear of any sort of danger for the security, territorial integrity, or sovereignty of the FRY. Nevertheless, there are regular analyses and estimates of possible dangers for the FRY and preparations for defense. That is a constant duty and ongoing task of the Yugoslav Army anyway. After all, everything that splits up or is divided becomes smaller and I think that advocates of such ideas are aware of this. The people are aware of that for sure, and for that reason they unite to be greater, stronger, and more prosperous.

Serbia

French Foreign Minister Arrives in Belgrade for Talks

Meets With Milosevic

AU1810174795 Paris AFP in English
1742 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (AFP)—French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette met Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic here Wednesday [18 October] for talks to lay the groundwork for forthcoming peace talks designed to end the Balkans conflict.

"We are placing a lot of hope in Serbia to reach a peaceful solution," de Charette said as he arrived for a one-day visit.

De Charette also expressed hope that the latest ceasefire in Bosnia, which began October 12, would hold despite persistent fighting in the northwest of the country.

Discuss Peace, Mutual Relations

LD1810201795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG) — President of the Republic Slobodan Milosevic received this afternoon French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette who is visiting our country with his aides.

In the course of their cordial and open talks, President Milosevic and his top-level French guest exchanged views on the most significant issues regarding the political situation in the region, placing particular stress on the steps being taken in the direction of the final materialization of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and particularly on developing bilateral relations and mutual interests between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and France, the office of the president of the Republic has announced.

Regarding the efforts to reach a peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was stated that the process so far and results of the Geneva and New York meetings as well as the other talks held undoubtedly point to a positive trend in the peace process, something that inspires optimism with respect to its successful and quick completion, including the signing of a peace agreement.

The belief is shared that it is necessary to consistently implement the agreed general cease-fire in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to define, in the absence of armed operations, the remaining solutions in the peace agreement following which the truce can evolve into a stable and guaranteed peace. On the path to this goal, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic personally are providing constant and significant contributions, French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette stressed. Likewise, it was stressed in the talks that the lifting of sanctions against our country will help not only revitalize its economy but positively contribute to the consolidation of peace and stability in the wider area of this region.

Particular attention in the talks was paid to improving bilateral relations, cooperation, and links between Yugoslavia and France. Although the sanctions have halted the dynamic development of this cooperation, the interests of the two countries and peoples in the political, economic, and cultural spheres represent a firm basis for intensifying comprehensive cooperation. In this context, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and France will continue to develop relations on the basis of equality and mutual appreciation, to which visits by the Yugoslav foreign minister to Paris and the French foreign minister to Belgrade are giving a stong impetus.

President Milosevic accepted with pleasure President Chirac's invitation to visit France.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic also took part in the Milosevic-De Charette talks.

No News on Missing French Pilots

AU1810193995 Paris AFP in English
1915 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 18 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb rebel leader Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday [18 October] that two French pilots shot down during a NATO bombing mission had been "kidnapped from hospital." [passage omitted]

In Belgrade, French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, speaking after three hours of talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, said he had obtained no new information on the pilots, missing since late August.

"I have no news to give you," de Charette told reporters. He also met with the Serbian foreign minister, Milan Milutinovic.

An aide to de Charette called Karadzic's statement "grotesque."

"Either the pilots are dead and Karadzic doesn't want to say so, or he is toying with us, because how can one imagine the Moslems kidnapping them as he suggests," the aide said.

Milutinovic confirmed that the Serbian Government had not been able to provide the French with any information on the pilots. "Unfortunately, we have nothing. It's a jungle out there, you know," he said, referring to Serb-held areas of Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Missing Pilots Issue 'Decisive'

LD1810210495 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Concerning the two pilots who ejected from their aircraft over Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic announced during the afternoon that they were abducted by a commando from a hospital where they were being treated. This is being called grotesque by Herve de Charette's entourage. Here is a report by Patrick Bourrat and Naida Nakad:

[Begin recording] [Bourrat] [Passage omitted] Our foreign minister has just met President Milosevic in Belgrade. He was not able to obtain any details:

[De Charette] I spoke to him about this very firmly, and said that for us this subject is decisive in determining our approach in the future. This is the stage we have reached and it should be known that for us nothing is more important than recovering our pilots.

[Nakad] But does this communique worry you?

[De Charette] Not more than the other information we have. Nothing today has thrown anyone into a panic. I repeat that we are continuing with our efforts, continuing with the pressure, and we will not stop until we have the information we want. [end recording]

[Bourrat] According to French military sources, this evening it is thought that the declaration by Karadzic — who is openly competing with many Serb factions for power — is meant to raise the financial stakes at a time when the cease-fire is being consolidated in Bosnia. It is now 78 days since Frederic Chiffot and Jean [as heard] Souvignet fell into Serb territory.

Karadzic Demands 'Rigorous Inquiry'

LD1810170195 Paris LCI Television in French
1600 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette arrived in Belgrade this morning and met President Slobodan Milosevic. He will try to obtain information on the two French pilots who are still being held by the Bosnian Serbs.

However, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, said the two French pilots had been kidnapped from a hospital either by a group demanding ransom or by Bosnian Muslims. He added he had demanded a rigorous inquiry into the matter, but no results had been obtained so far.

SRS: 20 Oct Protest To Be Held 'At All Costs'

LD1810145595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1252 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Oct (SRNA) — Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], told BETA today that the SRS protest meeting, scheduled for 20 October in front of the Yugoslav Assembly, "would be held at all costs."

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, is also supposed to be taking part in the protest meeting. According to Seselj, he is supposed to arrive in Belgrade early on the morning of 20 October.

"There will be big problems if the authorities try to prevent the meeting," Seselj said, in connection with a statement to the effect that the Belgrade Assembly executive committee was opposed to the meeting.

Seselj told the agency that "the protest meeting will only be off if the regime and its police kick us out of Belgrade." [passage omitted]

Belgrade Police Ban Rally

LD1810182395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG) — The Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Belgrade has handed down a decision based on the law on civil gatherings banning a public rally in Belgrade that the Serbian Radical Party has scheduled for 20 October.

This was announced this evening by the information service of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Red Cross Warns of 'Humanitarian Catastrophe'

LD1110124695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 11 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 11 (TANJUG)—Belgrade spokesman of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Josue Anselmo, said on Wednesday that the civilian population would be the victim of a humanitarian catastrophe of even bigger proportions unless a peace is reached in the territory of the former Yugoslavia by the start of the winter.

Anselmo said that indifference to the humanitarian drama was absolutely unacceptable.

'During the huge exodus in August, I noticed that the media focused more on figures than on the individual,' Anselmo said. He said that he had 'always been horrified when refugees were regarded as second-rate victims, regardless of whether in question are Muslims, Serbs or Croats.'

Croatia's aggression on the northern and southern parts of the republic of Serb Krajina on Aug. 4 killed several thousand Serbs and forced 250,000 to flee their ancestral homes. This was confirmed in reports by the U.N. peacekeepers and by the foreign media.

Anselmo said that in the region of Banja Luka, capital of the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska, ICRC is now providing aid for 105,000 refugees.

'The nationality of these people is of no consequence when every one of them needs everything-food, water, blankets and personal hygiene goods,' Anselmo said.

Joint Bosnian Muslim-Croat forces, backed by regular Croatian Army troops, occupied in September the western parts of Republika Srpska forcing hundreds of thousands of Serbs to become refugees.

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